THE NEW REPUBLIC

SPRING BOOK REVIEW

Alexander M. Bickel
Asher Brynes
Richmond Lattimore
Van R. Halsey, Jr.
Donald Cook
and Others

Jacques Barzun **Detection and Literature**
Karl E. Meyer **Just the Hard Facts**
Richard Barber **Price Fixing**

April 24, 1961, 25

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
LIBRARY
BURLINGTON VT
12-61 H21402 ARB-18

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. *from Washington*

We and They

★ Caroline's 12 ducks were paddling behind the White House last Sunday morning, webbed feet gratefully squishing wet grass. Languid showers pursued sun streaks across the Ellipse; two towering magnolia trees were in bloom, and the familiar white mansion itself, complete with Truman's balcony, seemed less real in the tender spring verdure than a stage backdrop. With sure instinct the ducks made their undulating way to the iron fence to panhandle tourists, whose startled cries and halted cars already began to menace traffic. A pleasantly bucolic scene in a city beset with crises! – like a zoo though which were spectators and which the observed, it was hard to say.

We underestimated Communist space potentials and now they are ahead of us and we are probably making the same mistake about their economic potentials. It is too late now to do anything but try to catch up with the Soviets' man-in-space but we are still ahead in over-all economic production and can stay ahead if we can only stop underestimating Communism.

Most economists agree that the Soviets' economic growth rate is now about twice America's. Russia starts from behind and high speed is easy for a while; it's very comfortable for us to relax and say that the Soviet rate will soon diminish. We are, in short, just at the point in economics where our scientists were when they laughed at Moscow's determination to develop a rocket engine with huge thrust. We were content then with a smaller, more "practical" intercontinental ballistic missile. Now we are in second place.

Our steel mills operate half time; Moscow's mills work night and day and are constantly being expanded. Our labor force hunts jobs; the Soviet worker is busy and always pushed for more. The Soviets graduate twice as many engineers, doctors and industrial technicians as we do.

Don't say we haven't been warned. "Soviet industrial production has been growing at a rate at least twice as rapidly as that of the US since 1950," CIA director Allen Dulles told Congress in November, 1959, "Soviet GNP has also been growing twice as rapidly as that of the US over the past eight years." The US, he said, "should frankly face up to the very sobering implications" of the Soviet threat.

Will the Soviets' man-in-space quicken sluggish Washington? Well, it may help pass the school bill. It may in time stimulate a sense of urgency. But the nation's mood is curious. Congressmen came back after Easter saying the public loves Kennedy but doesn't understand his program. It sounds as though he were a pin-up girl, a political Marilyn Monroe. Kennedy's program for meeting chronic unemployment seems to this column inadequate. And so far it hasn't struck fire.

The Anti-Catholic Vote

★ The anti-Catholic vote nearly cost John F. Kennedy's election. That is the challenging and unorthodox conclusion of four political scientists from the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center, who made a sampling in depth of 3,021 voters before and after the election, representing a statistical cross-section of the United States. Their article will be published in *The American Political Science Review*.

The weight of a feather either way would have changed the result of the 1960 election. That is why analysts will never let it alone. But the accepted thesis has been that the Catholic issue *aided* Kennedy more than it damaged him. That was the conclusion of *The New York Times*. It is the verdict of an objective survey just made by the advisory staff of the GOP National Committee. It seems at first to be the implication of the Michigan Survey's own estimate that votes of Catholics soared from a 50-50 division in '52 and '56 to an 80-20 Democratic majority in 1960. Isn't this conclusive?

"No," says the Michigan group calmly. Kennedy was badly damaged by his religion. If he had been a Protestant he would have had a landslide. The argument runs as follows: There are more Democrats than Republicans in the country, the ratio being 60-40; something over 2-to-1 in the South, about 50-50 in the rest of the nation. This Democratic bias was overcome in 1952 and 1956 by the short-term factor of Eisenhower's personal popularity. The country could be expected to return to the Democratic norm in 1960 and, in fact the popular vote for Congressmen did. But what happened to Kennedy? The Survey's sampling shows he "won" the TV debate with Nixon – he was personally popular. But he ran behind his party and barely squeaked through.

Reduced to statistics the Survey estimates that Kennedy got a bonus from Catholics amounting to about 4.3 percent of the national two-party popular vote but he got a loss from Protestant Democrats and Independents of about 6.5 percent or a net loss of 2.2 percent. "There is every reason to believe that these preliminary estimates . . . underestimate the magnitude of the anti-Catholic vote," say the political scientists gravely. It is true, they say, that a Catholic is no longer barred from the White House. "Yet it would be naïve to suppose that a Catholic no longer suffers any initial disadvantage before the American electorate as a result of his creed."

Vox Populi

★ We found the Michigan Survey impressive. We also found a nightmare quality in its painfully frank revelations of sample voters' reactions. A California man ("Weak Democrat") voted for Nixon because "Catholic countries have gone Communistic." A Michigan woman felt Kennedy projected a "tremendous personality" on TV but voted against him because he "downgraded the US." An Arkansas man ("Strong Democrat") couldn't vote for Kennedy (the Pope) but also feared "we might become more Communistic if we keep on with the Republicans." He prudently stayed home.

The student of politics comes away nonplused and chastened.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 144 Number 17 Issue 2424 April 24, 1961*
Published weekly (except for omissions of four summer issues) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Phone: FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 25c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address.* *Copyright© 1961, by Harrison-Blaine, Inc.* *Item g. Second class Imprint, reading Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C.*

"Let Both Sides Explore..."

THE WEEK

3. "Let Both Sides Explore . . . "; Shooting War in Cuba; Generals and Politics; Concerned Parents; At Ease

ARTICLES

5. Eichmann and the Germans
by Terence Prittie

7. Turning Point for NATO
by Denis Healey

8. The Superficial Aspect
by Gerald W. Johnson

9. Other Kinds of Price-Fixing
by Richard Barber

11. Just the Hard Facts
by Karl E. Meyer

DEPARTMENTS

17. Books 35. Feiffer 36. Art
37. Television 39. Correspondence

THE STAFF

Gilbert A. Harrison, Editor & Publisher
Helen Fuller, Managing Editor
Selig S. Harrison, Associate Editor
Robert Evett, Books & the Arts Editor
F. R. Ruskin, Assistant to the Publisher

Contributing Editors:

Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Frank Getlein, B. H. Haggin, Irving Howe, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann Helen Hill Miller, Michael Straight

Major Yuri A. Gagarin is the first person ever to see with his own eyes that the world is a sphere. He could see the continents, and the oceans, and even, he asserts, the collective farms of the Soviet Union. One thing he could not see was national boundaries. The sphere is unquestionably one, and though Major Gagarin patriotically regarded his trip as an achievement of the USSR and the Communist Party, President Kennedy, we believe, was closer to relevant truth when he admired it as an accomplishment of the human race.

Now that one man has demonstrated that he can survive in space, society must. This is a destiny as inevitable as was the creation of a new civilization in the American continents after the voyage of Columbus. The time is still far off when we can travel with ease throughout the universe, but human society knows at this very instant how to begin projecting its order into space. The demilitarization of space, and denationalized space exploration, are mandatory goals imposed by the miracles of technical progress.

For the moment, Soviet science has outrun us in the development of rocket thrust, guidance and control. The military and economic implications, and the possible political and propaganda ramifications of this are obvious. The USSR possesses something like a capability of putting a vehicle or a missile right between far distant goal posts, and over the cross-bar at that, and the world is thereby changed. But these are calendar considerations for today and tomorrow, not for historic time. Major Gagarin has rung up the curtain on an era, not a historical *entr'acte*. Again the analogy of Columbus is instructive. The discovery made by the Italian navigator, under the patronage of the Spanish throne, passed very swiftly into the hands of a new civilization which came to deny any more than a sentimental debt to his nationality or sponsor.

The demilitarization and joint exploration of space are not impossible. Prototype agreement has been achieved here on earth (as we now find ourselves saying with a sense of strange new connotation) in the Treaty on Antarctica. In his Inaugural, President Kennedy said: "Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring the problems that divide us. . . . Let both sides join to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars. . . ." The offer stands. It is one which has not yet been rejected out of hand. Pursuing its possibilities ought to be a first order of business while Major Gagarin is still taking bows.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Shooting War in Cuba

The President, at his press conference on April 12, meticulously defined what this government would not do about the struggle for Cuba. He first rejected US responsibility for whatever invasions might be launched against the island – and this dissassociation in the view of the most perceptive Cuban exiles was essential. We would not, he said, "mount an offensive"; we would not, "under any conditions," intervene with US troops; neither would we give aid or comfort to any who might hope to restore a Batista-like regime; nor would we "take any action with respect to the property or other economic interests which American citizens formerly held in Cuba, other than formal and normal negotiations with a free and independent Cuba."

Mr. Kennedy put the problem of Castroism in perspective by viewing it in a hemispheric setting. He emphasized that this is a fight between Cubans, not between Cuba and the US; further, that it is a fight of direct concern to all who believe in "democratic rule" in this hemisphere, all "who are attempting to improve the life of their people." And because he sees the danger of Castroism in this broader frame of reference, the President has tied our response to Castroism to a long-range effort of all the Americas to "implement the concept behind *'alianza-para-progresso'*," and he has expressed the hope that Congress will "appropriate as quickly as possible the $500 million suggested by the Act of Bogota." He repeats that the US intends to identify itself "with both the social, political and material aspirations of the people of Latin America."

What the President left in doubt, however, (and prudence dictated that it be left in doubt) is how much the US would and should do to help the anti-Castro forces, short of providing US troops. "Give us the tools and we will finish the job," Churchill said. But can the Cubans swiftly finish the job they have now begun, given the tools? If they cannot, then what? Castro's Cuba today is not the only example of a regime that survives though its citizens are exasperated and disenchanted. The only hint the President gave to how far the US is prepared to back up the rebels was his remark that the anti-Castro Cubans are "very interested in associating with all those who feel the same way," and his further remark that Castro after all received support "here in the United States and received some assistance, when he was attempting to carry out his revolution." In effect, then, the President has said that the Cubans must mount the charge themselves (as they are doing), that if they fail, *they* fail; but he also has made it clear that their zeal to reclaim the Cuban revolution will not find the US unsympathetic or unhelpful.

The last of these points may have to come first, for it is a truism that nothing is so dangerous as to first shake a fist and then a finger. From this point on, whatever the US does, by whatever means, it cannot escape criticism and the censure of many. That must be suffered. What cannot be suffered, in the interests of a democratic hemisphere as well as the Cuban people, is failure by the anti-Castro forces in their mission.

COMING: *A study by Frederic W. Collins of the mind of John F. Kennedy*

Generals and Politics

In a letter last week to the Secretary of the Army, Rep. Henry Reuss admitted the right of Generals "to whatever lunatic private view they wish to espouse" but not their right to "use the machinery of the United States Army to try to corrupt our troops." The occasion was the revelation that Major General Edwin A. Walker, commanding the 24th Division in Germany, has been using his position to indoctrinate his subordinates along lines of thought – if one may call it that – sponsored by the John Birch Society.

A military colleague has offered a plausible explanation of the General's cast of mind. General Walker had been a participant a while back at a gathering of military leaders, civilian authorities, historians, columnists, and the like at the Army War College. It was a closed session devoted to righteous analysis of US policy. Walker had appeared uncomfortable. Called upon to comment, he had spoken up in dismay at the idea of exercising judgment about such high matters of the state. Not critical faculties but authoritativeness and obedience were the watchword of this good soldier. The idea of pitting one's intellect against the subtle involutions of policy seemed fearsome to him. He took refuge in the traditional military formula – no politics.

However, the view which rises from inward insecurity in the face of a baffling world and which wants every issue reduced to the red-and-green dichotomy of a traffic-control system is itself political; and that is the sort of personal need to which John Birch formulas cater. The General fancied that what was good for his own troubled spirit would be good for the troops and might serve as a frame of virtue for society – thus

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bringing to mind Chesterton's observation that ignorance is the most pardonable of vices, and the most unpardonable of virtues.

Concerned Parents

One of the chronic causes of friction in American public education is the fact that many teachers have had less education (and in worse colleges) than many influential parents and school board members. Such parents think, not without reason, that they know more about what their children should be doing than the teachers themselves, and very often they say so. Since business and the professions are constantly increasing their educational requirements, we are likely to be stuck for the forseeable future with a substantial number of parents who feel their children are not getting as much intellectual stimulation in school as they might. But what can they do about it?

Some valiant efforts by parents are occasionally made. One of our correspondents, for instance, has tried giving her precocious children school books to read at home, and has found them not only popular, but in great demand among her children's classmates. Not an experiment which would occur to most parents, even those who are also teachers! But the problem, she writes, is that it is extraordinarily hard to find well-written and intellectually stimulating textbooks for her children. Since profits in the textbook industry go to volumes which sell millions of copies, not merely thousands, most writers speak to mediocrity. The remedy urged by our concerned mother is for *The New Republic* to publish reviews of available material in various fields so that parents would have some idea what to look for when trying to help gifted children.

Unfortunately, the task is beyond our means. Not only is there a tremendous range of textbooks, but there is an almost infinite variation in the sophistication of readers. Bright high school students can usually cope with college textbooks easily, and here the diversity is overwhelming. Even among elementary school pupils, one can move a long way beyond such classics as *The Child's History of the World* and *The Child's Geography of the World* without exhausting the imagination of precocious youngsters.

Making such a list comprehensive is, however, a task for schools of education and librarians, and it is a task on which many are at work. Unfortunately, their labors are not as evenly distributed as they might be. Which brings us around to another question. Is it not possible that in our national obsession with improving organized teaching in the schools we are neglecting something even more important: unorganized learning in libraries? Perhaps more charitable foundations could be encouraged to emulate Andrew Carnegie by investing in librarians who cater to the curious as well as in teachers who pester the apathetic.

At Ease

A story on the front page of *The New York Times* Tuesday, April 11, classically conveyed the sense of urgency that has gripped this Congress:

> Washington – President Kennedy's chief economic adviser, Dr. Walter W. Heller, testified today that it "will take time" to get unemployed workers back to jobs, to get idle factories producing again at satisfactory rates. "It cannot be done overnight," he said. Dr. Heller . . . suggested that the government might not be doing enough to spur recovery. None of the committee members asked why the government was not doing more and some cautioned against doing too much.

A GENERATION GETS ITS FIRST CLEAR PICTURE OF THE PAST

Eichmann and the Germans

Bonn

The very moment that the American Presidential election was over, Adenauer began making plans to visit Washington. He wanted to come in January. He wanted to come in March. His reasons were political and patriarchal. It can truthfully be said they were also pure. His political interest in the new Administration was immense. His feeling that with the departure of Eisenhower, he had become elder statesman of the West was understandable. But more compelling was his thought that a period of stress lay ahead for that alliance, and that the sooner he explained his worries to the new President, the better for the civilized world. However,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the visit of Adenauer to Washington has attracted next to no interest in Germany. The Federal Press Office has even had to issue a worried statement that the "importance of the Chancellor's visit should not be underrated." Who ever underrated an Adenauer visit, anywhere, before? Even his annual holiday to Lake Como has always been front-page news. The point need not be labored; more than 50 million Germans have almost forgotten about the Chancellor's movements because of one thing: the Eichmann trial in Israel.

In the first place, the trial has caused real alarm – alarm that the Western world will lap up the anti-German propaganda which the Communist *bloc* will release from its ample sleeve – at this psychologically right moment. The trial has also produced a defensive reflex by the Bonn Government which may seem hilariously funny to people of a sardonic twist of mind, but which merits pity. Finally, the trial has stirred up ferment here, the effects of which may only become apparent long years ahead. For Eichmann accuses a whole generation of Germans – fathers and grandfathers. Their children want to know about this man. But the fathers themselves would have so much preferred not to be asked.

Alarm has been widespread and violent. Last month, in one of his least successful statements to the Bundestag, the Chancellor made excuses for the German people, while condemning the Nazis. He implied that other nations should take a share of the blame for Hitler's crimes. He asked the world to believe that the Nazis persecuted Germans equally with Jews, and that the great majority of Germans were friendly toward the Jews. Nothing about his speech was utterly untrue, save its tenor. So often his Bundestag speeches have been intended for the outside world, and not for his semi-comatose listeners. But this time the world expected him to talk to his own people, for their own sakes.

Dr. Adenauer did better on April 11, with a broadcast to the German people which contained the appropriate moral overtones. By that time it had become clear to him that he had more to be worried about than his own government. Worry had spread through every party, and through the whole German press. Dr. Dibelius, the Bishop of Berlin, felt impelled to utter a word on behalf of the Evangelical Churches. Herr Ollenhauer, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party, expressed his deep concern – in semi-private. Herr von Hassell, the Christian Democratic Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein, boldly declared that neo-Nazism no longer existed in Germany. (His own area has often been depicted as its last stronghold.) Fifteen years after the war, the Germans know that they still have enemies in the West, quite apart from the Communists. Ten million accusing forefingers, 10 million grinning skulls. . . . Obviously, no laughing matter!

The defensive reflex of the Federal Government was not represented solely by Adenauer's speeches. A week before the trial began the Ministry of Defense issued a statement of praise for the Jewish servicemen of World War I. Four days later the Federal Government prompted a statement on the amounts paid out as reparations to victims of Nazism. The central tracing service for Nazi war criminals at Ludwigsburg produced an up-to-date summary of its achievements. By a curious coincidence a leading war criminal, Karl Chmielewski, the "butcher of Gusen concentration camp," was sentenced on the first day of Eichmann's trial to life imprisonment by an Ansbach court. Chmielewski was one of Eichmann's most faithful executors; the Eichmann extermination squads collected Jews and others; men like Chmielewski put them to death. Who was the greater criminal? The man whom the West Germans have already judged, or the man whose trial could still be used as a reproach against all Germans?

The Germans have been prone to self-pity in the past. It is therefore all the more striking that a leading article in the *Dusseldorf Mittag* calls on them to remember just what Jews must be suffering, in retrospect, today – when the terrible story of Eichmann is unfolded in a Jerusalem courtroom. The true spirit of repentance is not sackcloth and ashes – it is the consideration of the feelings of others.

During and after this trial, and as long as it is remembered, Germans must bear a special burden of their own. "A hundred years hence," Dr. Dibelius said, "the rest of the world will say – that is what Germans were like." But the burden may weigh most heavily right now. For there are at least 15 million West Germans who cannot remember what a Nazi Storm Trooper's uniform looked like. To them Eichmann's story is the story of their parents' failure, and their parents are still living. Men of that generation govern the Federal Republic and are responsible for its alignment in NATO. Today they must confront a failure which they have been trying to redeem.

I believe that the Eichmann trial will make men think, by first making them feel. It could be as revolutionary an incident as the storming of the Bastille – but only if men are prepared to see the hand of God in it. In my judgment, the Germans are at present too frightened to be able to do that.

A moral discourse is a bore. I would prefer to conclude with three simple thoughts: The Eichmann trial must not be used as an excuse for indiscriminate anti-Germanism. Its effect on an elder generation of West Germans who have bound the Federal Republic to the Western Alliance must be appreciated. The horror of millions of young Germans, who are getting a shockingly clear picture of their country's past for the first time, demands sympathy from their friends. The Eichmann trial is necessary, for the Germans. It can be salutary for us all.

TERENCE PRITTIE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A CONVENTIONAL ALTERNATIVE TO NUCLEAR RETALIATION

Turning Point for NATO

London

President Kennedy's speech to NATO's military committee gives the clearest indication of the revolution in military thinking which the new Administration has brought to the alliance. Nothing could be further from the doctrine of massive retaliation. Kennedy's main concern is to reduce the importance of nuclear weapons in Western strategy and to establish effective political control over the decision to use them.

Although for at least five years a massive nuclear strike against Russia would have meant massive destruction for the United States, NATO still relies primarily on the threat of such retaliation to deter Soviet aggression in Europe at any level. Since long-range nuclear weapons are deployed in Germany close to the Iron Curtain – theoretically for tactical use – even a small-scale local conflict would be likely to trigger all-out thermonuclear war; and a local conflict might break out, even though both Moscow and Washington intended to avoid it – as has already happened in Hungary, Poland and East Berlin. This strategic posture robs NATO of diplomatic flexibility. It cannot afford to discuss arms limitation in Central Europe, and it has no rational means of meeting any military danger which may again blow up over Berlin.

Kennedy wants to change this by producing a more efficient shield of conventional forces which could deal with a small-scale conflict without using atomic weapons at all, and which in case of a larger attack could gain time for a collective political decision on whether and how to use atomic weapons. To prove that this does not mean any loss of American interest in Europe he has undertaken to increase still further America's own conventional forces on the continent. It is often forgotten that at present the United States is the only country in NATO which has met its military commitments to the alliance in Europe, and that its five divisions in Germany are the only NATO forces which equal the Red Army formations opposing them in training and equipment.

This new American initiative will face Europe with some embarrassing decisions. Neither Britain nor France is at present making its promised contribution to the NATO shield. Germany has been hoping to acquire her own atomic weapons under cover of NATO's existing nuclear strategy. Indeed there is something like panic in Bonn, since the Adenauer Government has never dared to admit in public that it wants nuclear weapons. And it looks now as if it will lose the chance of getting them unless it asks for them openly against US opposition, which could lose Adenauer the election next September. The Chancellor made it clear after his talks with the President that this issue of nuclear arms for the Germans had not yet been resolved to his satisfaction, that it was "still open."

Kennedy's aim, it would seem, is not only to reduce America's liability to commit suicide on behalf of her allies, but also to limit the spread of atomic weapons inside NATO, since this would encourage their spread outside NATO – both in the Communist bloc and in the uncommitted countries. This aim is as unpopular with de Gaulle as with Adenauer. There is evidence, moreover, that Macmillan was reminded in Washington that *his* determination to keep an independent atomic striking force for Britain was a standing provocation to the other European countries to follow suit.

On the other hand, the European countries cannot be expected to leave the US with a monopoly of Western atomic striking power unless they are given some share in the decision whether or not it should be used in a particular conflict. This presents the US as well as the rest of the alliance with some very prickly problems which so far everyone has chosen to avoid. The McMahon Act forbids the US to share even knowledge about her atomic weapons, except under very stringent conditions which so far only Britain has been able to fulfill. It will certainly require amendment or repeal if Kennedy is to sell his new strategy to NATO.

But even if this juridical obstacle is removed, it will be difficult for the allied countries to agree on a control system for nuclear weapons, since what each of them really wants is control both of the trigger and the safety catch of the retaliatory force – and this is logically impossible. But unlike many problems, this one is simpler in theory than in practice, for there is only a limited range of situations in which a collective decision would be possible or desirable. The key to a solution is that NATO strategy should ensure that in any situation other than all-out Soviet nuclear attack, the alliance's conventional force should be able to enforce a pause during which political consultation is physically possible. Kennedy's plan to create a more effective conventional shield in Central Europe is a precondition for any shared control of the alliance's atomic forces, as well as a means to greater flexibility of allied response in the event of a crisis.

Denis Healey, M.P.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Phony War Is Ending

Three months after his inauguration it is clear that Mr. Kennedy has surprised everybody – well, perhaps not the John Birch Society; that nobody can surprise. If you know beyond peradventure that everybody is a Communist except Goldwater, and even Goldwater is suspiciously friendly with such a notorious Red as Eisenhower, nothing anybody does can astonish you.

But people not quite so sure of their own superlative wisdom and virtue, which is to say 95 percent of the country, have been caught off base, not once but repeatedly, by the new President's moves. He is both deft and definite, and it has been many years since that combination of qualities appeared in the White House. Roosevelt was deft, but far from definite. Truman was definite, but far from deft. Eisenhower was neither.

Kennedy, however, has distinctly altered the tone, although not the objective, of our foreign policy, yet without offering any insult, explicit or by implication, to his predecessor. That was deft. In reply to the demand that public money be appropriated to church schools he said, "It would be unconstitutional." That was definite – no ifs, ands, or buts about it. The country, dazed by such unexpected attributes in a President, hasn't yet made up its mind about the man, but it is immensely interested.

Efforts are increasing, however, to make up its mind for it. The inept "Charlie and Ev" show apparently is a flop, but Mr. Richard M. Nixon – oh, surely, you remember him!– is now girding up his loins preparatory to telling us what we think about Kennedy, and in years gone by Mr. Nixon was more or less successful in telling Americans what to think, even when he told us to think nonsense.

It seems plain, therefore, that the period of the phony war is drawing to a close and that the first massive assault may be expected any day. And this makes it appropriate to consider what dispositions Mr. Kennedy has made to meet it.

There is not the slightest doubt that he has improved his position as regards personal popularity. In this he has been notably assisted by that sadly underestimated fraternity, the newspaper photographers. Mr. Kennedy and his whole family are photogenic to a degree unapproached by any occupant of the White House since Warren Gamaliel Harding.

He has also inspired a hope – thus far, no more than a hope, but it counts – that he will retrieve part of our lost prestige in the world and by so doing give our national security a stronger buttress than military power. As this hope flickers, or grows brighter during the next six months, the President's political defenses will deteriorate or become invulnerable.

All this, however, is contingent. At present, it may be more to the purpose to consider a political dictum that David Riesman issued 10 years ago: "Wherever we see glamor in the object of attention, we must suspect a basic apathy in the spectator."

In this case there is glamor in the object of attention, all right, nor is it altogether a reflection from the First Lady and the enchanting Princess Caroline. The President himself is L'il Abner come to life, even to the mop of hair. Glamor? He is plastered with it.

Well, then, what about the "basic apathy in the spectator" that Riesman says we must suspect? On that point the evidence, either way, is as yet insufficient. But there is a hint, not proof, in the relative quiescence of the political incompetents – "they went out to battle and they always fell" – who rallied frantically around Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson and, above all, FDR. Where is the Battalion of Death that would rather lose with Kennedy than win with a compromiser? To date it is not apparent to the naked eye.

True, without allies the Battalion of Death cannot win an election. Adlai Stevenson proved that, twice. But when it is a case, not of winning a position, but of repelling an assault on one already held, these people are superb. They are particularly effective against betrayal from within. For instance, the Southern Bourbon allies of the Republicans, Kennedy has to handle with kid gloves; but a few really fanatical Kennedy men could and joyfully would handle them with brass knuckles. The salutary mayhem would be committed, yet none could legally charge it to the President any more than FDR could be brought to book for the murderous proclivities of Harold Ickes.

The fact that the nuts are nowhere in sight at the moment does not preclude the possibility that they are lurking in the bushes, ready to burst upon the field at the first real crisis. And this much is morally certain: let Kennedy achieve one unmistakable triumph, whether in Laos or the Congo, in the matter of aid to the schools, or through a real civil rights bill, and the Battalion of Death will materialize as fast as the jinni from the Arabian fisherman's bottle.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Other Kinds of Price-Fixing

by Richard J. Barber

Almost as the seven individual defendants in the price collusion case tried in Philadelphia were being released from prison, the Department of Justice filed a $12 million damage suit against the electrical equipment manufacturers, charging that as a result of the bid-rigging conspiracy the government had paid prices up to 66 percent higher than otherwise would have prevailed. In the months ahead several other damage suits will be initiated by private utilities and various units of local and state government. Attorney General Robert Kennedy has announced that his Department will step up its activity in respect to price-fixing – and organized crime. And President Kennedy reportedly will issue soon an executive order, directing that all identical contract bids received by federal agencies be reported to the Justice Department.

Up to now the government has been concerned largely with the conspiratorial forms of price-fixing, typified by the electrical equipment litigation as an instance of overt collusion among a group of alleged "competitors." Thousands of other similar examples could be found, involving almost every conceivable product, ranging from autos, gasoline, toys and diapers, to tranquilizers, soft drinks and live lobsters. One feature, though, does distinguish the electrical goods case from the typical price-fixing conspiracy: it was one of the few occasions in which large corporations were apprehended and successfully prosecuted. Usually only the smaller firms are caught: the gasoline service station operators in Lake County, Indiana; the lobstermen in Maine; the installers of auto replacement glass. For it is not just the giant firm that dislikes competition. The desire to eliminate rivalry, the quest of the "quiet life," is equally as intense in the corner druggist and service station operator. To say that in that portion of the economy where the markets contain a large number of fairly small sellers "honest price competition prevails," as T. K. Quinn has said in these pages, is only partly correct, for competition can be effectively restricted in industries characterized by a fairly large number of sellers *without* conspiring. For example, as a result of retailer pressure, 45 states have enacted "fair trade" laws, which permit manufacturers to control resale prices. These laws can have precisely the same effect as direct collusion between the competing retailers. Still another device for eliminating price rivalry is the trade association. By collecting data on output, sales, inventories and the actual prices at which sales are being made, and furnishing this promptly to its members, the association provides exactly the information needed by knowledgeable competitors for determining the "going price." Conformance then is more likely to be the rule than the exception. Yet this kind of trade association activity is generally accepted as being within the law. As long as this view remains in force (and certainly it deserves serious reconsideration), considerable price uniformity will exist, without actual collusion.

In the oligopolistic industries, those in which a very small number of producers are dominant, price competition can be eliminated without collusion, and even without recourse to trade association. (This doesn't mean that these industries do not have trade associations, but only that the associations do not perform the same function here as in the industries with a larger relative number of firms.) Where there are, say, three companies producing most of the industry's output (automobiles, for example), the condition, once nicely described as "spontaneous coordination," will invariably be present: each seller knows that it both affects and is affected by the market choices of its rivals. If seller X establishes a significantly lower price than what has prevailed, its share of the market will increase markedly; its rivals, Y and Z, can thus be expected to match X's newly-announced price. Whatever gain X might originally have anticipated by cutting its price is lost. Under these circumstances, it doesn't take long for the parties, independently, to price in a uniform fashion – reserving their rivalry for other outlets (such as product design and advertising). This hypothesis is confirmed by a look at auto pricing. For 1961 the manufacturers' suggested retail prices of the full-size, six-cylinder models varied by only $6 among the Big Three: the Chevrolet was the highest at $2,316; the Plymouth the lowest at $2,310; the Ford, $2,311. This is representative of the usual situation. In 1956, Ford initially announced an average price increase on its 1957 models of 2.9 percent. Two weeks later General Motors increased its 1957 model prices by an average of 6.1 percent. A week later Ford revised its prices upward, to match almost dollar for dollar the comparable GM prices.

What is true of autos is also true of most other

RICHARD J. BARBER, *on leave from Rutgers University, is a visiting assistant professor of law at Southern Methodist University, where he teaches courses in the regulation of business.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

major industries; one recent survey, by Harvard professors Carl Kaysen and Donald Turner, shows that in more than two-thirds of some 150 manufacturing industries, at least a third of the output was produced by eight or fewer firms. In over a third of the total number of industries, eight or fewer firms accounted for over half the output. And even this does not give the full picture, for in a number of vital markets the degree of concentration is significantly higher – in autos (with GM and Ford together accounting for about 75 percent of domestic new car registrations), in tin cans, cigarettes, distilled liquors, synthetic fibers and photographic equipment. Mr. Quinn indeed understated the case when he said that a third of the economy is characterized by oligopolistic markets.

In the oligopolistic industries, then, competition is virtually eliminated, yet the bogeyman of overt collusion is absent. Confronted by this immensely serious problem what can be done to protect the public? Mr. Quinn would establish a Price and Wage Board, with authority to fix prices and wages. Whether regulation of this sort is feasible and desirable, and can be confined to the oligopolistic sector without ultimate extension to the remainder of the economy, raises a number of important questions.

More pertinent to this discussion, however, Mr. Quinn's proposal seemingly rests on either or both of two implicit assumptions, neither of which, in my view, is tenable: First, that the corporations of the size found in the oligopolistic industries are inevitable, or technologically essential; second, that there is no way to restore competition to these markets – that there is not now, and cannot be, an effective procedure for disaggregating the dominant firms and creating a larger number of firms of efficient scale and roughly equal size. I disagree with both of these assumptions.

First, the available evidence strongly suggests that in most of the oligopolistic industries a firm, to be efficient, does not need to be as big as the existing leaders. Again, take automobile production. In 1959, the Chevrolet and Ford *divisions* of their respective parent organizations each produced more than 1.4 million passenger vehicles. Yet authoritative analysts, both in the academic community and within the industry itself (in the person of George Romney, the president of American Motors), estimate that minimum production costs can be achieved by a manufacturer with annual capacity of as few as 300,000 units. There is similar evidence to demonstrate that no necessary correlation exists between large firm size and research performance. Witness in this connection the relatively greater progressiveness of small and medium-size steel companies – such as Armco and National – than the industry leader, United States Steel. What we really have in this country are numerous giant corporations representing aggregations of capital considerably larger than required for efficiency. Plants or corporate divisions, individually capable of attaining minimum costs, have simply been collected into massive financial empires whose existence is not inevitable, and is indeed detrimental to the functioning of the economy.

Second, means *can* be found for increasing the number of firms in those markets now accurately described as oligopolistic, though whether we have these means at this moment is open to doubt. In their interpretation of the Sherman Act, our oldest and most important federal antitrust statute, the courts in the past several years have placed increased emphasis on the power held by a group of firms to control the market, as an index of violation. But in the most pertinent case, that involving the three dominant cigarette manufacturers, the evidence permitted the inference that the companies had actually conspired, in the traditional sense. Thus, in directing a suit, say, against the auto producers, the government might have to establish the existence of a conspiracy. And this would be difficult, for, as noted earlier, oligopolists need not conspire to eliminate competition. The Sherman Act, therefore, may not be adequate to cope with the problem. Perhaps section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act is a more potent instrument (at least one decision suggests this) and under its Chairman, Paul Rand Dixon, the FTC may endeavor to explore the outer reaches of that statute.

A simpler approach would disregard the question of conspiracy altogether. Attention would be directed to the *actual degree of market concentration*. Thus, if four or fewer firms accounted for 60 to 70 percent of total sales in a given market, they would become targets for reorganization automatically. While firms might seek to justify their position, by showing, for instance, that their scale of operation is essential for maximum efficiency, in most instances there would probably be no adequate defense. The next step would call for a division of the firms' assets, looking to the creation of as many new, independent entities as would be consistent with optimum efficiency. In the auto industry, this might lead to the creation of as many as 20 firms, of approximately equal size. What the Securities and Exchange Commission has done in relation to public utility holding companies is illustrative.

If the present oligopolistic markets can be made significantly more competitive, without loss of operating and innovating economies, why should we assume, as Mr. Quinn apparently does, that the only solution is wage and price regulation? I would prefer to rest my case on the competitive system rather than on price regulation or, for that matter, on some variety of syndicalism. Hopefully the new Administration will turn its spotlight on the oligopolies, and not confine its attention to cases involving overt collusion. A competitive order demands that we prosecute price-fixers *and* begin a program of industrial deconcentration.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Just the Hard Facts

The Divorce of Journalism and Judgment

by Karl E. Meyer

The case of Joe McCarthy is the most spectacular example of how an unscrupulous politician can parlay bogus stories into headlines, because what a Senator says is "news," because reporters are inhibited from inserting evaluative opinions, and because time may be lacking to check before filing. But more insinuating is the way that the official "slant" creeps into routine stories filed from Washington and from abroad.

Take the case of Laos. On January 4, 1961, Arthur Dommen of UPI cabled this dispatch from Vientiane:

"Communist-led Laotian rebels claimed Tuesday night they had recaptured the key central Laotian town of Xien Khouan in a major victory and sent spearheads driving toward southern Laos. While the Communists were reporting new successes, King Savang Vathana dealt them a major diplomatic and propaganda setback by convening Parliament for a three-day session to invest pro-Western Boun Oum as Premier."

The tone is typical of much foreign reporting and clearly discloses the failing of misplaced concreteness so prevalent in American news stories. For this, reporter Dommen is not wholly to blame. His story was probably processed in this country – meaning an originally hopped-up dispatch was even further hopped-up so that the wire service could get the front-page play that is regarded as the measure of success. In stories of this kind, "howling mobs" always "hurl" shouts at the US Embassy, battles "rage," guns "thunder."

Second, the dispatch fits into the hard-news formula, *i.e.*, it wrests from the day's events something that sounds specific and new and states it in language used to report police court trials and county politics. The trouble is that the formula assumes that the reader is fully aware of the background, as indeed he usually is in the case of a local happening. In the case of Laos, the formula is misleading to the extreme. As we have gradually come to learn, Laos is really not a "nation," its political factions are really not "parties," and its government is not a "parliament" – at least in the way these words are commonly understood in America. But the unavoidable surface impression the reader gets is that Laos is only a more exotic version of Norway.

Third, the dispatch is replete with official bias. Again, the reporter may not be completely at fault. It was probably censored, even though there is not even the slightest suggestion in the story that this might be the case. But the characterization of factions might be the same, censors or no, because the hard-news formula seems to demand an easily grasped good-guy, bad-guy rhetoric. Our faction is "pro-Western," the other fellows are "pro-Communist" – but, as we have learned to our grief in following events in Iraq, Egypt, Indonesia, Lebanon and the Congo, labels like these have a way of becoming quickly unstuck. A modest reform has been suggested: Why not use the phrases "American - supported" or "Russian - supported" to characterize regimes – instead of pro- or anti-Western?

All this is well understood in Washington, where there is a frustrated realization that the conventional techniques of journalism are inadequate to the new demands. Abler members of the press often look with envy on the European correspondents in the Capitol, who are allowed far greater latitude in expressing their opinions and who are encouraged to write essays rather than to fire a series of supercharged pellets at the reader. Doubtless the European tradition has its own shortcomings, but the American system of reportage has exalted "readability" (*i.e.*, short sentences that even the village idiot can understand) to the point of diminishing return. And by insistence on misplaced concreteness, the conventional formula opens the way to official manipulation by backstage briefing officers.

Small wonder that there is a bipartisan tendency among some high officials to regard the press literally as a fourth branch of government. When Secretary of State Dulles used his power to deny reporters access to Red China, the unspoken assumption was that the press was an agency of government and could be used for bargaining purposes in dealing with a foreign power. On that point at least, Mr. Dulles and Peking were in momentary agreement. Former Assistant Secretary of State Andrew Berding gave a more explicit statement of the same philosophy in a speech to a group of newspapermen on November 18, 1960. The

---

KARL E. MEYER *is on the editorial staff of* The Washington Post and Times Herald. *His article is adapted from a chapter in a forthcoming book,* The New America: Politics and Society in the Age of the Smooth Deal, *to be published in June by Basic Books.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Associated Press reported: "Mr. Berding said American information media have increasing responsibility for the 'image of the United States' as it appears to foreign peoples. Mr. Berding, himself a former newsman, deplored 'the scandal type of news' which he said foreign newspapers receive from American sources and publish. . . . He accused newspapers of publishing secret government documents without raising any 'excuse or explanation' about 'whether it was right or wrong to do so'. Mr. Berding also declared that some correspondents 'concentrate on stories that show the government in a bad light'."

However, the speech was given in an unfortunate city. Mr. Berding spoke in Williamsburg, once the colonial capital of Virginia, where His Majesty's Royal Governors were also irritated by the habit of newspapermen to report stories that show the government in a bad light. One colonial Governor blurted in 1671: "I thank God we have no free schools nor printing. . . . Learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world; and printing has divulged them and libels against the government. God keep us from both."

But God failed the Royal Governor, and the devilment of print came to the colonies, sowing heresy and disobedience. Not long after the Revolution, in 1793, the first columnist made his appearance: Royall Tyler, a novelist and dramatist who wrote for the *New Hampshire Journal*, and who was the forefather of a garrulous and distinguished family.

Our columnists have acquired greater importance as the editorial columns of most newspapers have succumbed to what Louis Lyons calls "a conforming to conservatism that has become so habitual as to be unconscious." A press without Walter Lippmann, Joseph Alsop, James Reston, Murray Kempton, Marquis Childs and their brethren would be barren indeed. Even the old curmudgeons of the right, George Sokolsky, David Lawrence and Westbrook Pegler, are welcome abrasives in an age of slickness.

Yet different times bring new styles, and there seems to be a distinct contrast between the generations of commentators. The old-timers boil with indignation; the new breed simmers in irony. The modern columnist tends to view his role as that of a drama critic who must help inept players to understand the script. The credo has been set forth by Richard Rovere, *The New Yorker's* shrewd political observer, in the preface to his book, *The Eisenhower Years:* ". . . I do not look upon myself as a partisan or upon this book as a polemic. In general, my effort has been to write about politics as much as possible in the manner of a critic making an effort, as Matthew Arnold put it, 'to see the object as in itself it really is'. I believe that it is theoretically possible to bring to public affairs the sympathy, interest, hope, objectivity and rigorous discrimination that a conscientious critic brings to literature, painting, music, architecture or any other form."

The popularity of the Rovere approach is reflected in the changing aspirations of the young reporter. During the 1920's, the idol of the city room novice was probably H. L. Mencken; during the New Deal it was most likely Heywood Broun; at present the baton has passed to James Reston, the distinguished correspondent for *The New York Times*. Mr. Reston, whose antennae are among the most sensitive in his craft, himself remarked on the changing traditions of journalism in May, 1958, in a collective obituary for Elmer Davis, Thomas L. Stokes, Frank Kent, H. L. Mencken, Geoffrey Parsons, Herbert Elliston, Anne O'Hare McCormick and Bernard DeVoto. "They differed from one another, this group, in manner, style and political philosophy," Mr. Reston wrote, "but they resembled each other more than they resembled their successors. They were more outspoken than the modern breed. They were more reflective. They could write more vivid prose, and above all they had more wit and humor in their style."

The Aesthetic Judgment

Mr. Reston was generous to the old timers, and perhaps too harsh on the successors. But nonetheless a change is evident. Thomas L. Stokes, a committed New Dealer, was succeeded in his column by William S. White, an able *New York Times* reporter, who summed up his view in a magazine article: "The Eisenhower Administration cannot be made out, on any fair estimate, to be in any way evil. But its lack of evil is no less marked than its lack of taste. This is said wholly without malice, because I look upon politics simply as a profession or an art like painting and music; consequently, I have few political villains and no outright heroes."

This aesthetic approach to political commentary has its strengths: literacy, fairness, and dry wit. Instead of the hammer, men of the new school use the nail-file – frequently with devastating results. But the shortcoming is that, all too often, gloomy private convictions end up in a far more comforting form in newsprint. The stress on fairness can act as a filter-chamber in which the complexity of an event is so carefully attended to that the judgment is left out.

It sometimes seems that the reader has to bring to political commentary the critical apparatus required for studying a stanza of Yeats or Eliot. Somewhere, tucked in all those words, there may be an opinion that can be discovered. The task is rendered more difficult by the fact that what appears to be a judgment often, on closer examination, turns out to be an evasion.

Over the years, I have learned to detect (and I confess, imitate) certain strategies for avoiding a judgment while seeming to express one. For convenience and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

brevity, I have distilled the devices into the Four D's: Dichotomy, Distribution, Description, and Displacement. Let us look at them one by one.

1. *Dichotomy.* This technique is simple and can be easily mastered. It consists of taking a controversy and stating the opposing views in such a way as to imply that the truth lies somewhere in between – without, of course, identifying this "somewhere" more precisely. For example, here is a leading Washington commentator's assessment in 1956 of President Eisenhower's first term: "In summary, the Eisenhower Administration, like most of its predecessors, has been neither as ineffective as its opponents claim nor as wise, imaginative or successful as its skillful propagandists assert." And this is a Washington columnist's appraisal of the prestige issue in the 1960 campaign: "Our international political situation may not be as glamorous as indicated by Mr. Nixon, but it certainly is not as somber as described by Mr. Kennedy."

2. *Distribution.* With practice, it is possible to find a common element of gain or loss for all contenders in a controversy, and then to evenly parcel out bouquets or brickbats. But it is important not to state explicitly who won the most or lost the most. As an example, this is the final sentence of one Washington columnist's postmortem of the 1960 Presidential primary in Wisconsin: "On balance, it seems to me that Wisconsin has not helped any candidate very much and has hurt all of them somewhat." Or, another commentator's survey of the ruins of the Paris summit: "The whole thing is not a 'victory' for anybody. . . . It is a serious defeat for the President. . . . It is a serious defeat for Prime Minister Macmillan. . . . It is a serious defeat for Mr. Khrushchev and his policy of coexistence."

3. *Description.* Skillfully handled, it is possible to describe a situation in such a way that it appears a crisp judgment has been rendered. Consider this concluding paragraph of a profile of James Hagerty in a leading news magazine: "Hagerty has been accused at times of doing his job too well, of creating the image of a President more vigorous than he actually is, and thereby lulling the US into a false and dangerous sense of complacency. But Press Secretary Hagerty cannot by the nature of his job manufacture a Presidential record. He can only reflect what President Eisenhower does in its best light. In his ability to do just that, James Campbell Hagerty, first of the professional press secretaries, may never be surpassed."

This seems straightforward enough; but the appearance of solidity dissolves at the touch. The first sentence raises a pointed charge: that Hagerty is doing his job too well, with harmful results. By a facile shift, the conclusion fails to address itself to this question, substituting instead a description that is true of any press officer: he is paid to put his boss in the best light. The question of whether Press Secretary Hagerty, by doing so, has fostered a dangerous complacency, is left hanging – yet a quick reading conveys the impression that

Thunder From the Sky Above

Scarcely any of those who read what the paper tells them know who has written what they read, or what sources of information he possesses, or what intellectual weight. The voice seems to issue from a sort of superman, and has a hypnotic power of compelling assent. An elderly clubman who has been behind the scenes may remark to his friend over their coffee: "After all, these thundering articles are written by a fellow with the arrogance of inexperience, who knows much less about the matter than you and I do, a young fellow scribbling in a dingy room up three pair of stairs." But to the tens of thousands in and all around the city the thunder seems to come from the sky above. It is like the voice of a great multitude. And in truth the paper does represent much more than the scribe in the dingy room, for a great journal has traditional authority as well as large capital behind it, and its policy may be the product of the combined action of a number of shrewd minds, watching the ebbs and flows of opinion, studying how to please the vast electorate, or how to terrify the men in office. Behind the argumentative advocacy, in itself a small matter, is the power of manipulating news, and of reporting what the proprietors wish to be known and ignoring what they wish to keep out of sight. Strange is the fascination of the printed page. Men who would give little credence to a tale told them by a neighbor, or even written to them by a friend, believe what the newspaper tells them merely because they see it in print. In one country where newspaper inaccuracy is taken as matter of course, the same man who says, "You know the papers are full of lies," will forthwith repeat some charge against a politician on the faith of a paragraph, believing, because he saw it in the newspaper, that there must be something in it.

– James Bryce, "The Press in a Democracy," *Modern Democracies*

© The Macmillan Company, 1921, pp. 102-3.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a sharp verdict has been delivered by the writer.

4. *Displacement.* This consists of taking a lamentable situation and then assigning the blame in so diffuse a manner that no one, really, is responsible. Congress, the voters, the older generation, the younger generation, and the people in general are ideal scapegoats. For example, a Washington commentator recently surveyed his calling and found that our national reporting is too timid and too lacking in harsh candor. There is, he finds, an excess of togetherness, and a tendency among journalists to lump men and causes into some "shapeless generality." Then, with an eye for the hedges, the writer concludes: "But is this not a national, and not merely a Washington failing?" There is safety in numbers.

The All-Purpose Column

Let us conclude by wrapping all four D's into a single all-purpose column. Suppose that a President unexpectedly offered to swap Alaska for East Germany to ease the Cold War. Our columnist would be ready with description, dichotomy, distribution, and displacement, in that order. Here might be the result:

> WASHINGTON, *February 29* – The feeling in this city is that the President has given a new twist to the tired formulas of foreign policy by his bold proposal to exchange the state of Alaska for the East German People's Republic.
>
> But despite the predictable outcry that has followed the President's carefully worded statement, the move is neither so ruinous as opponents contend nor as inspired a masterstroke as the Administration's publicists insist.
>
> There would be gains and losses for both sides. Although the area of freedom would be extended to East Germany, the swap would also mean that the Soviet Union would acquire new bases near our defense perimeter, absorbing in the process the people of Alaska.
>
> To an objective observer, the controversy over the President's proposal clearly provides another melancholy example of how the methods of diplomacy lag so sadly behind the needs of the atomic age. Surely such complex negotiations might best be carried on quietly by skilled specialists. At the same time, the necessity for secrecy – and the failure to brief the press – has meant that the public has been caught unawares, and a controversy damaging to unity is likely to follow.

But we must proceed one step further, lest this survey itself seem to end without a judgment. How well does the American press serve its readers? Does the truth have a proximate chance to emerge from the pages of the typical American newspaper?

On the credit side, there seems little doubt that the reader is confronted with a greater volume of reportage on more subjects than ever before; he is nearly suffocated in newsprint. And it is worth stressing that there is less of a chasm between the "popular" press and the "quality" press here than in other countries; the *New York Daily News* carries more information than its tabloid counterpart in London.

But what about meaning? Does the typical Washington and foreign dispatch present a comprehensible picture of reality? Only an incurable optimist could argue the affirmative, without severe qualifications. We have examined the case of Laos, on the other side of the globe. Cuba is only 90 miles from United States soil, and yet few major news stories have been so clumsily handled as the Cuban Revolution. During the Batista years, wire service stories from Cuba were colored by the flavor of official handouts in Havana. In the very last days of the Batista regime, this was the tone of the characteristic UPI dispatches: "Cuban rebels claimed tonight that their advance patrols had entered the city of Santa Clara. . . . The rebel announcement came after a day in which President Fulgencio Batista hurled an almost steady stream of warplanes against rebel-held towns in Las Villas Province, in what appeared to be a major attempt to smash the two-year-old revolt."

This was filed from Havana on December 29, 1958, by Francis L. McCarthy – two days before the complete collapse of the Batista regime. Yet, while rebels "claim" victory, Batista "hurls" streams of warplanes. One reason for this discrepancy is that both wire services covered the Cuban civil war almost exclusively from Havana, and little attempt was made to get reporters into rebel areas. A possible explanation was lack of enterprise; another was fear of offending Batista because dictators have a way of throwing uncooperative press services out of the country – and both AP and UPI had lucrative franchises among the Havana papers. In any event, at the moment when the Batista regime was cracking apart and Cuban society in a state of near-disintegration, wire service reports conveyed the impression of a forceful government welcoming a showdown with a handful of pesky rebels. Indeed, on the very eve of Castro's victory, one wire service was cabling accounts of Batista's supposed triumphs in Santa Clara. It does no good to blame it all on censorship, because, as in Laos, the stories themselves rarely indicated that they were subject to censorship.

After the downfall of Batista, attention swerved to the rebel firing squads, in no small part because executions find an easy echo in a hard-news lead. The equally important story – that Cuba was in the beginning stages of a profound social revolution – this story slipped through the sieve. By and large American readers had little idea of the rottenness of the old order

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

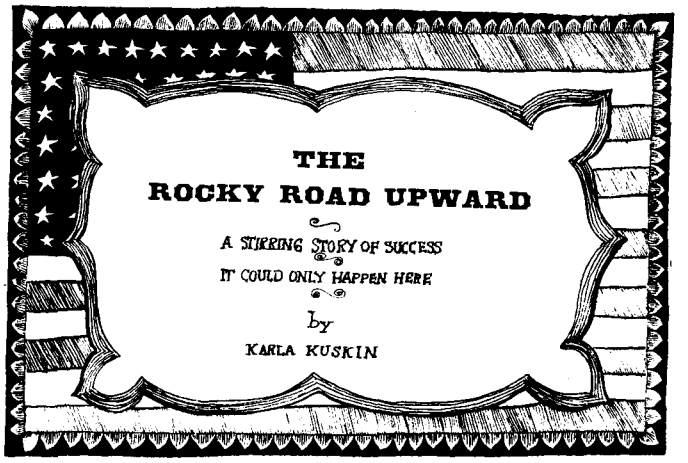
or the widespread desire for fundamental change. Ultimately, some glimmerings of this reached the North American public, but by that time the Cuban insurgents who had been swiftly, and perhaps prematurely, called pro-Communists had become that in fact.

Thus, the reader could find a concise tabulation of how many victims had fallen before the firing squads – but no comparable statistics on the extent to which United States investors controlled the Cuba of old, or on the life expectancy of a *guajiro* who lived in debased poverty on a rich island. In Cuba, as in Laos, the same melancholy process could be detected: hopped-up crisis reporting, facile labeling of adversaries, lack of perspective, and reliance on official sources.

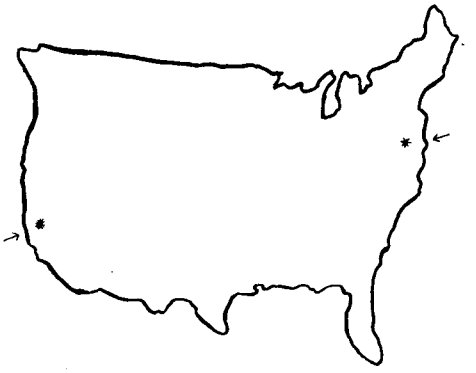
The shortcomings of press reports from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East reflect the changes in the post-Stalinist world when no bloc – even the Communist bloc – is glacially solid. More than ever, questions of mood and nuance are vital, and it is precisely in this area that the supercharged lingo of wire service reports is most vulnerable. In the European press, where impressions are as important as "hard news," and where the words of US briefing officials are given less than scriptural weight, a markedly different picture of events in places like Laos and Cuba is available. All too often, wire services inadvertently mislead by concealing the soft center to the "hard" news.

A different problem is posed by the vendors of opinion who could offer a corrective to the news columns by calling a trowel a trowel. One can understand, in view of the complexity of events, why a pundit would want to clothe a judgment in language of caution. But the traditional argument for free speech, as formulated by John Stuart Mill, assumed that the collision of strong opinions provided the best mechanism for arriving at the truth. The beneficiary of hard-hitting controversy, Mill contended, was not the impassioned participant but "the calmer and more disinterested bystander." Mill was less concerned by the "violent conflict of parts of the truth" than by the quiet suppression of half of it, because "there is always hope when people are forced to listen to both sides; it is when they attend to one that errors harden into prejudice, and truth itself ceases to have the effect of truth, by being exaggerated into falsehood."

So reasoned Mill; surely he would be troubled by a tradition of political commentary which seeks to express the consensus rather than criticize it. No matter how fair-minded the new school of pundits may be, their excessive emphasis on detachment may – paradoxically – prejudice the broader purpose of discovering the truth. There is a maxim by G. K. Chesterton which puts the matter astringently: "The angry historians see one side of the question. The calm historians see nothing at all, not even the question itself."



Once upon a time
at different ends of a great
land of opportunity
there were two little fellows

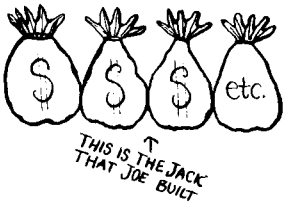


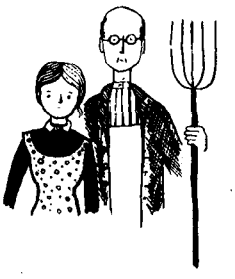
One was very rich and handsome.

The other had tasted poverty.

He had a beautiful mummy and a very smart daddy who made huge amounts of money in shrewd and sometimes shady ways.

He had a plain looking mummy and a daddy who tried but never made it.

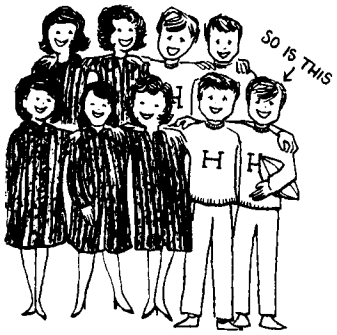


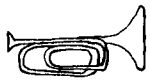


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And he had an awful lot of beautiful sisters and small, handsome brothers and he went to all the very best schools.

He had a couple of siblings one of whom got fat and borrowed money. He struggled against tremendous odds and went to second rate schools.





Then came the great war

The rich little boy, who was now a rich young man, marched off to defend his nation. He returned covered with medals and glory.

The poor little boy, who was now a poor young man, marched off to defend his nation. When it was over he came home.

The rich young man married the most beautiful girl around She had an aptitude for languages and dressed marvelously.

The poor young man worked long hard hours and gave of himself unstintingly. He married Pat. She worked hard too.

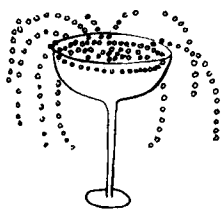
"Ouvre la fenetre"

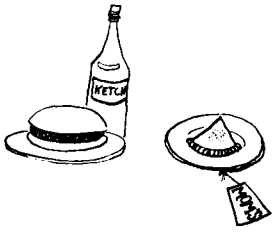
"Ou sont les neiges d'antant?"

"Dove 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue?"

The rich young man loved filet mignon with mushrooms, yachts and the Riviera.

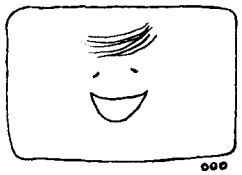
The poor young man had simple tastes. There was nothing he liked quite so well as a medium hamburger on a toasted bun with relish.



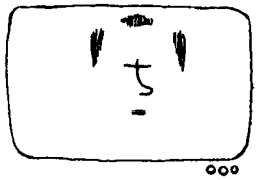


The rich young man and the poor young man went to Washington, D. C.

The rich young man's hair fell over his eyes and he had a splendid smile. Inside some said, he was cold and hard.



The poor young man's hair receded. On advice from friends he smiled infrequently. He spoke with kindness to shoeshine boys.



On January 20th 1961 the rich young man became President of the United States of America. His beautiful wife was there to see him take the oath of office. So were his mummy and daddy and his sisters and brothers and masses of glorious people like statesmen and humanitarians. Robert Frost and Tony Curtis were there.

The poor young man was forty-seven years old and he went home with Pat.

Reprinted from *Monocle*, Spring, 1961

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Detection and the Literary Art

by Jacques Barzun

I continue to think the short story the true medium of detection. Pleasant as it is to begin a novel that promises a crowd of actors and incidents, of clues and disquisitions upon clues, the pleasure too often ends abruptly, marred as it is by the apparently unavoidable drawback of a subplot and its false leads. The poet C. Day Lewis, writing as Nicholas Blake the excellent *Minute for Murder*, apologizes for this fault by having his detective refer to "the monstrous red herring" that delayed the solution. Looking back over many a novel that is monster-ridden in this way, one cannot help thinking of the story as it was first conceived, without this artificial bulge, which exists only to be deflated by a sentence or two near the end.

Ideally, the short detective story is a sequence of five parts, for which it is a pity that Greek names cannot at this late date be invented. First comes the preamble, philosophic in tone, and if possible paradoxical or otherwise arresting. It sets the mood by providing a sample of what Poe called ratiocination. However you pronounce it, ratiocination is a heart-warming prospect. The detective theorizes upon some aspect of life which the story will bear out, though he himself does not as yet know this. Next comes the predicament – mysterious, horrible, grotesque, or merely puzzling – the variation from the norm which invites inquiry. The commonplace mind, represented by the client or by some other embodiment of the *ewig-Watsonisches*, tries to assimilate the unusual and fails. But the superior mind, the detective intellect, seen through a cloud of smoke, discerns the true question and feels immortal inklings upon him – as may be gathered from the irritating silence which follows his voluble opening.

Further events soon disconcert both the common and the superior minds, but, again, only the latter recovers. This is the signal for a little discourse on method; possibly given Socratically, by questions and answers that dispose of the obvious hypothesis and leave everything in an engaging confusion. It is time for the detective to act on his still hidden "deductions." He tests "places, people, and things." The sheep separate themselves from the goats, and the ensuing violence – confession, arrest, suicide – prepares the way for explanations. These may of course be artfully distilled through the two or three closing sentences of the tale, but if the end is not to be a wordy anticlimax, some provocation of sharp surprise must be kept to the last. We know that the culprit is the smooth solicitor with the pince-nez, but we still cannot see how he could have been in London and in Buenos Aires at the same time. The final lecturette which leads up to this disclosure, far from being a rehash, is an illumination which is also an emotional peak, because it releases the tension of intelligent curiosity we have labored under from the beginning.

All that I have been saying about the genre could be summed up in one word: the detective story is a *tale*. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pleasure it affords is that of any narrative in which the ancient riddle of who is who unravels itself to an accompaniment of worldly wisdom. In the detective tale proper there is a double satisfaction answering a double curiosity – what can the solution be? and how was the solution arrived at? But to recapture this innocent pleasure one must be sophisticated enough to abdicate other sophistications.

The case for the detective story cannot of course stop on this dogmatic note, for certain merits of the genre and certain objections to it are yet to be named. Among the objections is that of sameness – "read one and you have read them all." My description of the form could even be cited in support of the charge: it would be foolish to deny that detection in literature submits to very rigid canons. It is an art of symmetry, it seeks the appearance of logical necessity, like classical tragedy, which is why it cherishes the unity of place – the locked room, the train or ship in motion. Its successes thus partake always of the tour de force. As Yeats rightly remarked, "The technique is *supairb*." But these very limitations, when appreciated, draw our eyes to the points of differences between one tale and another. Indeed, superficial sameness is a common attribute of tales, as against the surface variety we expect of novels and novelistic short stories.

What one seems to miss in the tale is the novel's lifelike looseness, the illusion of uncontrived actuality. One is conscious of *listening to a tale*, which is why I suggest that the enjoyment of detective stories requires a superior sophistication. Again, I concede that the reader who seeks out novels in order to learn something new about human character will be disappointed in detection. The tale may well teach nothing but its own neatness, and its effect then is to bring a smile to the lips rather than a commotion to the soul. These are two orders of pleasure, not necessarily two degrees of it.

But if what I say is true, what becomes of the connection between detective fiction and the realistic novel? To perceive the connection one must turn from form to substance. The raw material of detection consists of the physical objects that surround action. These become literary substance when the detective imagination has chosen and arranged them so that some are clues while others produce atmosphere, verisimilitude, suspense. In detection, details are numerous and must be instantly convincing. We are ready to swallow long descriptions of houses and their furnishings, we are greedy for the contents of posthumous pockets, we long to master time-tables, speeds of vehicles, and procedures for

Beginning Work

What worries
Is March; withindoors, in kitchen and nursery,
Summer
In coinage like leaves and sons like cherries
Is up
And over my heart, and tells its stammer
Be still
In the talk of the loglight; dog days and sleep
And love
Is enough.

I see from the window the hill
So hard
With winter the plot where the garden lived
Rings
In the wind, lonely and bare as a board;
It coffins
Seeds and sorrows in. Down in such wrongs
Nights gone
I spaded to dig out my heart, as shriven
Poor
As any foundling potato. But mine
Had eyes
To witness, and more than sprouts to bear;
For which,
As by day I wore it to market, the keys
Of the house,
I mean love, and a rooftree over its riches,
Came
In my hand; and a door on this windful of loss
I shut.
It coffers my seeds and sun in. I am home,
Let March
Be the mourner upon the hill.

And yet
My eyes
Dog its heels. Interred in that patch
Of toil
A sprout of me that no bed in this hot house
Mothers
Is live, and uncurls, and cracks the world
To be out
And green; its parent heart is what withers
Blind
And tearless in me. Repletion and drought
Mate
In my heartwood of rooftree at summer's end,
Its timber
Falls, with a heaven of leaves and fruit,
Decayed
Till its time is dug for again.

Stammer,
Be still:
It is in my bones I make love with the spade
To the hill.

William Gibson

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

collecting evidence, provided always that these records of matter moving through time and space conform to the common standards of credibility.

That is the reason why many years ago Msgr. Ronald Knox laid down as one of the laws of detective fiction: "There must be no Chinamen." And this cryptic rule, which its author said he could not explain, is in fact the principle of the realistic novel: the world of magic and mystery yields to a sense of reality based on the persuasiveness of things. To be sure, the great novels of the realistic school portray character even more painstakingly than things, whereas detection rightly keeps character subordinate, but detection makes up for this neglect by giving intelligence a place which it has in no other literary form. Only in the detective tale is the hero demonstrably as bright as the author says he is.

What do we gain from the details of detection? An understanding, first, of the silent life of things, and next, of the spectacle of mind at work. This is no doubt why detective feats have been, since Voltaire and Poe, the delight of intellectuals. The emotion called forth is that of seeing order grow out of confusion. This is no mean or despicable emotion: it can match in intensity the light of recognition which Aristotle declared the strongest effect of tragedy.

To experience this pleasure of discovery one must be willing to explore, as minutely and lovingly as the author desires, the nature and connections of the inanimate – including the corpse. One must be teachable enough to master the interlinked traces of human action upon the material world. Doing this is no doubt an acquired taste, like the taste for reading the history of the earth in rocks and rivers. But a generation reared on Proust's crumb of cake in the teacup should readily believe that bits of matter matter.

To those who acknowledge this, the attempt to "improve" the detective story and make it "a real novel" seems a proof of bad judgment. To replace clues with "psychology" and intelligible plot with dubious suspense is childish tinkering. It cannot improve a genre to drain out its essence, fill the void with second-hand soul-searching and arty

Third Printing Now Ready

ON THERMONUCLEAR WAR

by HERMAN KAHN

"I urge all persons to read [*On Thermonuclear War*] and particularly those who are involved in the formulation of policy at the national level and who are responsible for the transformation of that policy into action . . . This book will influence history more than any which I have read in the last twenty years."
– **HARRISON S. BROWN**, *California Institute of Technology*

"Herman Kahn examines without fear or favor many controversial problems . . . Many who read this book will find themselves in disagreement with the concepts and ideas discussed by Mr. Kahn. This is as it should be, because the author delves into the most challenging of the issues facing free people – how to prevent thermonuclear war from engulfing mankind. New thoughts, particularly those which appear to contradict current assumptions, are always painful for the human mind to contemplate. *On Thermonuclear War* is filled with such thoughts."
– **SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY**

". . . a most valid and reasonable way of getting to the heart of a most difficult and terrifying subject . . . a brilliant study of how national and military policy can be applied to resolve our thermonuclear dilemma." – **FRED GREENE**, *in New Republic*

"Mr. Kahn deserves the most attention from those of us who believe: (1) that universal disarmament down to a police level under a strengthened U.N. is our sole valid hope of a decent existence for our race and (2) that such a state is less impossible to achieve than the arms control systems offered to us as a means of survival in war if not of avoidance of war . . .
– **NORMAN THOMAS**, *in Saturday Review*

"[*On Thermonuclear War*] may well turn out to be the most important political-military work of our era . . . Kahn is the first writer I have read who, on a massive scale and with thoroughgoing detail, faces the nature and consequences of thermonuclear war not as a paralyzing abstraction but in all its sizes, shapes, degrees, possibilities, probabilities . . . He is for facing the Medusa head of possible war, even though it turns the beholder to stone."
– **MAX LERNER**, *in New York Post*

688 pp., fully indexed, $10.00 at all bookstores

Princeton UNIVERSITY PRESS
Princeton, New Jersey

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

verbal tricks, and pretend that the result is at once the classic article and something loftier. When I hunger for "real characters," I am satisfied by nothing less than Stendhal, Balzac, James, Dickens, Hardy, or Joyce. When I want to read about "the psychology of a murderer," I go to Dostoevsky, Buchner, Victor Hugo, Stevenson, or Shakespeare: I do not want it from Miss Mary Limpet or Mr. Sterling Brass, who write in the *I Did It* and *I Done It* manners respectively.

Again, the detective tale is not the place to make us appreciate the moral burdens of the times by presenting a detective who (I am quoting the review) is "middle-aged, humane, and embittered," so that his detection gives "glimpses of man's callous indifference to man." Finally, detective fiction has more to offer the reader than an incomplete Baedeker to some unfamiliar region of the world. All these novelties are but inferior substitutes for detection. The point is that in any combination of the detective interest with anything else, the something else must remain the junior partner.

But am I not still a good way from showing that detective fiction is a branch of literature in the honorific sense of belles-lettres? Is not detection perhaps a frivolous by-product of legal and scientific writing, a *jeu d'esprit* for tired professional men who lack the energy to tackle poetry? Behind these questions lurks a general suspicion about style. The literary conscience demands that in order to be deemed literature a tale of any kind must show mastery not only of form but also of tone and diction. These are not prescribed as to kind, but the commonplace will degrade a narrative, however ingenious, to the rank of popular journalism.

The supreme quality in our specal genre is of course invention, which is to say imagination. Because the light shines on all the material circumstances these must seem fresh, at least in function, and yet sufficiently common to be plausible – streets and moors and stairs and potting sheds must be recognizable and in no way fanciful. Incidents, likewise, must show a studious regard for the norms and conventions of life and yet avoid that predictability which is the mark of journalism in the derogatory sense. Only art, the art of words, will support a writer who tries to walk this narrow path. It is style that in the fictions of Dorothy Sayers or Rex Stout, of E. C. Bentley or G. K. Chesterton, makes their works at once worthy of belief and pleasurable to read.

Nor is literature in abeyance because we consent to character drawing being in detective fiction a secondary concern. For in these tales characters must none the less be seen and move and talk so that we know them at least as well as we know the many people, not our intimates, with whom we deal in daily life. By a right use of the Jamesian "point of view" the writer of detection allows us to see into his actors far enough to recognize their type and judge their ostensible motives. Were we to go farther we would see too much: the writer would have given away what it is his business to keep hidden until circumstances speak. In this half concealment lies an art which is none other than literary.

The one exception to this deliberate superficiality is the portrait of the detective, and here too the literature can show some triumphs. Sherlock Holmes is as fully a character as Mr. Pickwick. And thanks to Doyle's almost unique success in giving a soul to the detective's partner – the common man – we have in the two a companion pair to Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, a contrast and concert capable of occupying our imaginations apart from the tales in which the two figure. Similarly, in Nero Wolfe and Archie Goodwin this old pattern of the knight and his squire, which is as old as the *Iliad*, is repeated with conspicuous success in the American idiom.

Nor does it take such a partnership to prove that writers of detective tales can animate their heroes with a picturesque variety. From Father Brown to Peter Wimsey the range is wide. There is in fact but one limit that must not be transgressed: the detective cannot be a fool. I have no use for those ineffectual little men who are always mislaying their belongings and nursing a head cold, yet manage to track down desperate murderers. An all-embracing awareness of physical surroundings and great powers of ratiocination being the spectacle we look for, we are cheated when amiable bumblers hold the stage and succeed by accident at the last minute. They are as unconstitutional in their way as the "poison unknown to science" which kills before the cork is out of the bottle. And my objection to ineffectuality goes for the same paradox in any other form – the great Cointreau, let us say, who is always drinking and hiccuping, and who ends his cases snoring face down on the table while the prisoner is led away in a whiskey-scented haze. Poe decided once for all that the detective should be a man of independent mind, an eccentric possibly, something of an artist even in his "scientific" work, but in any case a creature of will and scope superior to the crowd – in short, the last of the heroes. It follows that to produce him the author must be at least his equal in observation and vocabulary. Wit, learning, and repartee constitute in fact the hallmark of detective literature.

The final grace of the perfect tale is its ornamentation. I mean by this the small touches which, while they fit the working parts of the plot, give them a characteristic coloring. Indeed an exact measure of levity in detection shows the master's hand, for as Arthur Machen pointed out long ago, the true tone of the genre springs from the alliance of murder and mirth. Conan Doyle and Dorothy Sayers, among the classics, understood this better than any others. What finer-humored critique of detection itself, and at the same time what more brilliant invention, than the casual reference in the Holmes story to the case which hinged on how far "the parsley had sunk into the butter upon a hot day?"

A muffled irony is perhaps as far as our later sensibility will go, but some such injection of butter and parsley is needed if we are to preserve our proper distance from what is, after all, ugly business. Murder and detection in real life can give pleasure to very few. The one evokes anger and misery, the other boredom. Only when transmuted into literature by the artificial light of reason and the arbitrary rearrangement of parts, do these social and anti-social realities begin to afford delight.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Delinquency and the Goods of the World

by Donald Cook

The study of juvenile delinquency has long been marked by a dialogue, at times friendly and at times strident, between two factions – one stressing social organization or disorganization, and the other individual pathology and emotional disturbance. In the 1920's, for example, the "Chicago School" of criminologists, notably Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay, gathered important data on delinquency rates in a number of American cities. Such data demonstrated that delinquency was concentrated in the deteriorating inner-city areas, where newly arrived migrants were beginning their struggle for a place in the American sun. As various groups prospered and moved to more favorable living quarters, they were replaced by the other groups, and yet the concentration of delinquency in these areas remained high despite the succession of national groups moving through them.

Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs
by Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin
(Free Press; $4)

Although such studies continued, the 1930's and 1940's saw the rise of another emphasis, derived primarily from Freudian psychology, stressing emotional disorder in the delinquent, stemming from internal conflicts whose sources lay in family life. Such work has thrown a good deal of interesting light on the delinquent, especially of the more bizarre type, whose illegal acts are a byproduct of a failure or breakdown in the ordinary personality mechanisms of control. But this individual emphasis has certain limitations. It does not help us to account for the social location of delinquency in certain groups at certain times. It bypasses the major feature of lower class delinquency: that is, that it is supported by groups, gangs, and cliques, and is the *expected* behavior, and not unusual. And it offers little help in the treatment of such delinquency.

This book represents a major advance in the sociological study of delinquency, and it is directed expressly at the aspect of the problem which, because it is socially supported, is the most serious: the characteristic group delinquency of the urban lower-class adolescent male. In particular it attempts to account for the social conditions under which three main variations of such delinquency arise and are maintained: criminal or theft-oriented delinquency, conflict or "bopping" delinquency, and "retreatist" delinquency, which stresses the illegal consumption of drugs, and other private "kicks."

The analysis offered proceeds by carefully examining the problems which arise when our national belief in equality – especially equality of opportunity – confronts the fact that the goals we value are not within the reach of all. Lower class youngsters are exposed to the goals but are poorly equipped in academic skills and motivation, orderly control of impulse, deference to elders, and so on. In this perspective, delinquency is but one of the many social by-products which arise in groups least favored to achieve success in a competitive, urban-industrial complex, with its accent on education as the primary means of upward mobility.

But the discrepancy between aspirations and opportunity is not enough to explain delinquency. Dissatisfaction may lead to hard work, Dale Carnegie courses, mental health clinics, suicide, or political action. We need to know what leads a youngster to follow one path rather than another.

In pursuing this question, the authors offer a detailed account of the conditions under which alienation from the social order becomes widespread. One of those conditions is a feeling of unjust deprivation. In an egalitarian society, competition for scarce goods which are not available to all, poses a peculiar problem: that of justifying the choice of the winner and the rejection of the loser. The problem is intensified when the basis of selection is supposed to be that of ability, or (as in the educational process) potential ability. When the competitors for op-

Here are the new
DOUBLEDAY ANCHOR BOOKS
you'll want to read and own

AN AMERICAN DIALOGUE
Robert MacAfee Brown and Gustave Weigel, S.J. A noted Protestant theologian examines Catholicism, and an equally renowned Catholic looks at Protestantism. "A landmark in America's progress toward religious maturity."
—STRINGFELLOW BARR A-257 95¢

THE BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGIST READER
G. Ernest Wright and David Noel Freedman, editors. A collection of authoritative, readable articles from the pages of *The Biblical Archaeologist* on the customs, people and artifacts of the ancient world. Illustrated. *Anchor Original.* A-250 $1.45

BRAHMS: His Life and Work
Karl Geiringer. The most important biography of the composer ever published. "Altogether a rare book . . . fine scholarship."
—IRVING KOLODIN A-248 $1.45

BRECHT: The Man and His Work
Martin Esslin. "This book is a must for any devotee of the modern drama as it presents not only Brecht but also the theatre from the end of World War I to the middle fifties."
—*The Virginia Quarterly Review* A-245 $1.45

CLASSIC, ROMANTIC AND MODERN
Jacques Barzun. A revised, expanded version of *Romanticism and the Modern Ego* (1943), reviewing literary movements and figures from the 18th century to 1960. A-255 $1.45

CRITIQUE OF RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY
Walter Kaufmann. "The most intellectually exciting modern book on the philosophy of religion."—ANTHONY QUINTON. A-252 $1.45

DEMOCRACY and ESTHER
Henry Adams. Two distinguished novels reflecting the social and politcal conflicts of America's "Gilded Age." With an introduction by Ernest Samuel. A-243 $1.45

MIRAGE OF HEALTH
Rene Dubos. A history and philosophy of medicine by an outstanding modern scientist. A-258 95¢

THE RED EXECUTIVE
David Granick. A unique comparative study of the Russian "organization man" and his role in Russia's emergence as a first-rank economic power. "Fascinating."
—*Christian Science Monitor* A-246 $1.45

SPANISH BALLADS
Translated and with an Introduction by W. S. Merwin. A representative anthology of a major poetic genre, the *romance*, providing an essential key to several centuries of Spanish culture. A-253 95¢

THE UNITY OF THE UNIVERSE
D. W. Sciama. A brilliant young British cosmologist surveys his field in "an engrossing book, an invigorating intellectual exercise that any mature reader can enjoy."
—*Scientific American.* A-247 95¢

On sale now at booksellers, or direct from the publisher

To your bookseller, or
Doubleday Anchor Books, Dept. 1-NR-4
501 Franklin Avenue, Garden City, N. Y.

Please send me the Anchor Books whose numbers I have indicated: .....

I enclose ☐ check ☐ money order in the amount of $....., covering the total cost of books ordered plus 10¢ per book for postage and handling.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....ZONE...STATE.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

portunity outnumber the opportunities, qualified people must be rejected, and the rejection must be justified. Since this justification cannot be offered on the grounds of privilege or other aristocratic rights, a series of informal and covert or hidden criteria come into being, which cannot be openly avowed. The resulting sense of unjust deprivation is compounded by the visibility of certain barriers to achievement. The case of the American Negro offers the most spectacular example. The very inequities which are publicized by reform groups as a spur to social action, can also hasten disenchantment with the prevailing system, and the withdrawal of sentiments concerning the legitimacy of the established order. Under these conditions self-blame and the attempt to find solutions through individual effort are not likely.

But to blame the system as a whole is difficult without group support and sanction. The stage is set for a collective solution in which groups of people can buttress each other's views of the futility of playing the game with a square world.

Such a stage setting accounts for the pressures to seek illegal solutions to problems of status and opportunity. It also accounts for the lack of guilt or conflict on the part of fully indoctrinated lower-class delinquents. For if access to opportunity and success is limited due to unjust deprivation and visible barriers, the result will be the withdrawal of support for the rules of the conventional world, alienation, and the formation of new groups that share and support a deviant pattern. Where there is no loyalty to conventional rules, there is no problem of guilt posed when they are broken.

The account so far now brings us to the question of why *particular* forms of delinquency are chosen by different groups. Again the authors seek the answer in the social structure, rather than in the personality of individual delinquents. Their most important point is that the means to illegitimate action are, just as the means to legitimate success, scarce and tightly controlled. Not every "antisocial" person can become a successful criminal, for *that* organization may not admit him either. Not every seeker of kicks has the sophistication to connect with the supply of drugs. Whether a slum youngster becomes a bopping warrior, a versatile thief, or a drug addict, depends, then, not only on his alienation from the prevailing system, but also on illegal opportunities.

Criminal delinquency, though less visible and dramatic in contrast to gang warfare, is perhaps more extensive, costly to society, and more characteristic as a training ground for adult crime. This "delinquent subculture," which stresses purposeful theft, values dexterity and technique, and sees the world as divided into smart guys and suckers, arises only under certain conditions. The conditions are those of close relations between people of various ages, and a graded series of jobs ranging all the way from minor touches to high positions in the rackets. Such a world also requires close relationships (described by sociologists as "accommodation") between the criminal and conventional world. The thief needs his front, the booked suspect needs his bondsman, and the larger racket must pay off the police. In the stable slums such relationships become institutionalized in "the machine" wherein politics, the rackets and law enforcement all enter into close and mutually profitable relations.

Ironically, the authors see the rise in recent years of violent delinquency and gang wars as due in part to the decline in opportunities for more respectable criminal careers. In areas which are socially disorganized, marked by high rates of mobility and weak social control, the young are not linked in any responsible way to older people for the training and opportunities which they may provide. They are cut off not only from conventional careers, but also from worthwhile opportunities in the world of rackets. (At present, New York Negroes provide a huge source of income to the numbers or policy rackets, but have been unable to move up into positions of control in this business which are still held primarily by Italians.) Thus we see the emergence of a subculture which stresses violence, values "heart" or courage, and sees the world as divided into a series of turfs or territories which must be protected. Being tough may be only a short-run virtue, but at least it's one virtue that they can't take away.

And yet, this sort of delinquency is the least stable, because it has the least meaning outside of the small world of the gang. It is relatively amenable to social control, although not for the reasons often given. The detached-worker movement has shown a number of successes in subduing gang warfare, but the reason may well be not that social workers assigned to gangs are skilled at bringing about personality changes, but rather because they are signs that society is deferring to the interests and needs of these youngsters. For example, it has been shown that gangs with workers come to be attacked by other gangs having no workers, on the grounds that "if we are bad enough we can get a social worker too." Furthermore, when workers withdraw from gangs which they have pacified, gang warfare begins again, unless new opportunities for employment and other forms of advance have been worked out in the interim.

The authors see the "retreatist subculture" as arising through "a double failure," when youngsters cannot achieve success either as young criminals or as young warriors. These are the people who have failed, not only with respect to the conventional world, but who also cannot achieve success in the world of illegal opportunities. Drugs allow them to indulge in fantasies of success and achievement, while in fact they remain "cool" and aloof from the world of ambitious activity. As young men move out of adolescence, they must give up bopping, which they see as kid stuff. If responsible criminal careers are not open to them, to say nothing of a place in the far away conventional world, they then become candidates for addiction.

"WHEN A MAN *goes to jail for refusal to divulge, among other things, the number of bathrooms he has in his house, the lights have got pretty dim. In one way we almost—almost, mind you—hope that our associate editor and everyone else who defied the Census as he did will go to jail. As Thoreau said, in times when the government imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also the prison.*"

From the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. Write to Dept. R-5, 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N. Y., for free copy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The power of the analysis offered by Cloward and Ohlin is most strongly revealed in the closing pages of the book, where they discuss patterns of change in delinquent subcultures in American life. To illustrate, immigrants have gone through three main stages of assimilation. The first is that of acute personal and social disorganization, in which the young have few paths to status except through violence: the great gang battles, which have recently been seen among Negroes in New York, took place among the New York Irish in the period before the Civil War. In this stage crime is unorganized and unprotected. The second stage begins when an ethnic group dominates a neighborhood and develops political alliances. This is the stage of organized crime and political power, the "social and athletic club" and the well integrated slum. In this setting the rackets provide employment and serve to raise investment capital for new and finally legitimate enterprises. At this time the criminal subculture dominates, and delinquency, though extensive, is nice and quiet.

The third stage arises as legitimate opportunities allow the group to move out to the suburbs and the slum deteriorates, leaving a residual of failures, people who are fearful of the new "alien" groups who are making their claim to dominance of the principal avenues into the rackets, political power, and finally legitimate success. There is a resurgence of violence, for the young are once again cut off from all avenues, and at the same time freed from external restraint.

This sequence has been exhibited successively here by the Irish, Jews, Italians, Negroes, and Puerto Ricans.

The authors prophesy an increase in violent and retreatist forms of delinquency as urban slums become increasingly disorganized. They describe the emergence of syndicated gambling, which is bureaucratically organized and depends upon advanced technology (such as the wire service), complex financial insurance (such as the lay-off), and so on. They see the passing of the gangster with local roots and power; and his replacement by the syndicate restricts grass-root opportunities for criminal careers. Local recruitment and selection disappear and leave mounting pressure for conflict forms of delinquency. At the same time, the decline of the urban political machine signals the disappearance of a second source of community organization. Local political groups no longer tie the neighborhood together, nor can they "count upon the financial largess of illegal enterprises as a stable source of income."

Then, paradoxically enough, "the growth of the welfare state has undermined the importance of the urban political machine, for it was the power mobilized in a large urban machine that made the New Deal possible." The authors argue that the welfare state through its income-maintenance programs has driven the local political machine out of business, and with it the linking of ordinary men and women into elaborate networks of personal relations. The relation between the client who receives public assistance and the public aid official who dispenses it does not do much to tie the slum citizen into the local community or to relate him to "social structures that provide him with some semblance of control over his destiny."

Finally, there is the effect of massive slum clearance programs which disperse the informal community network characteristic of the stable lower class slum. In new public housing programs "a divided unorganized body of tenants is more easily managed and less likely to exert pressures for change of one kind or another." The authors quote the manager of such a project as saying "We don't want none of them organizers in here, all they do is stir up trouble. Used to be some organizers around here but we cleaned them out good. . . . Communists . . . that's what they were."

Their final verdict, therefore, is that delinquency in its various forms is but a footnote – only one of many and perhaps not even the most important – in a series of social effects which follow from a broad discrepancy: the confrontation of an ideology of equality with the facts of unequal opportunity. And they write, "we hope that we have made it clear that services extending to delinquent individuals or groups cannot prevent the rise of delinquency among others. Delinquency is not, in

RANDOM HOUSE Books

James A. Michener
REPORT OF THE COUNTY CHAIRMAN
A surprising view of the presidential campaign revealed by the bestselling novelist, who describes his own experiences on the local level as Democratic County Chairman – in sophisticated, complex Bucks County. $3.95

As told to
Bob Considine
THE MEN WHO ROBBED BRINK'S
By Joseph "Specs" O'Keefe. Authorized by the FBI. One of the ringleaders gives the authentic story of the almost perfect crime – the $1,000,000 Brink's robbery – the biggest heist in history. $3.95

Japanese Inn
By OLIVER STATLER
"A marvelously rare and lovely book . . . The reader will know more about Japan, about the way her people lived and live, than he had ever known before when he has finished with this handsome volume." —BOSTON GLOBE
Prints, woodcuts, drawings. $6.50

Parodies
An Anthology from Chaucer to Perelman
Compiled, with an introduction and notes, by Dwight MacDonald. "The best anthology of parody ever published."—TIME. 600 pages. Indexed. $7.50

Isak Dinesen
SHADOWS ON THE GRASS
"A quartet of serene elegies to her Africa of far away and long ago." — *Charles Poore*, N.Y. TIMES. Illustrated with portraits painted by the author. $3.75

Now at your bookstore RANDOM HOUSE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the final analysis, a property of individuals or even of subcultures. It is a property of the social systems in which these individuals and groups are enmeshed."

If it is true that those features of society which are ultimately responsible for high delinquency rates are far removed from the child himself, perhaps it will gradually become appreciated that the solution to the problem lies in political, social, and economic changes, equally far removed from the kid with the knife, the "jimmy," or the hypodermic needle. It would be a hopeful sign if students of delinquency were able to transmit their knowledge beyond the confines of the streets in which they work, and if this knowledge could enter where those decisions are made whose final effects are felt in those turbulent streets.

Learning the Lesson of Rome

by Van R. Halsey, Jr.

Lewis Mumford's new book *The City in History* is astonishingly rich. It comes, as so many of his previous books have, at a most opportune moment. City planning is hopefully just now coming out of the situation of the fifties during which time, thanks to Robert Moses and other practical administrators, the very word planning was made to seem the embodiment of

The City in History
by Lewis Mumford
(Harcourt, Brace and World; $11.50)

"creeping socialism." The Eisenhower era may be remembered, among other things, for the supreme public indifference to social planning. Preoccupied by traffic problems and hampered by miniscule budgets, city planners have been in a funk as their reports and admonitions were ignored in the laissez-faire race to the suburbs.

For Lewis Mumford, however, social planning is not only not dead, but it remains the only live option open if civilization is not to destroy itself. "Whether our scientific technology should be controlled and directed for the purposes of life, or whether life shall be regimented and repressed in order to promote the ceaseless expansion of technology is one of the main questions before mankind today."

Mumford begins by asking some urgent questions. "Will the city disappear or will the whole planet turn into one vast urban hive? Can the needs and desires that have impelled men to live in cities recover, at a still higher level, all that Jerusalem, Athens, or Florence once seemed to promise?"

Mumford's pessimism, clearly expressed in 1938 in *The Culture of Cities* in the form of an all too prophetic chapter entitled, "A Brief Outline of Hell," is still profound. However, as this book moves through succeeding urban cultures the numerous examples of metropolitan folly and wisdom combine to form bold outlines for possible affirmative answers to Mumford's marvelous ability to give the discussions of all the cities he examines a relevancy to today's urban chaos.

The first third of the book details the coming together of scattered communities into citadels, the rise of Mesopotamian and Egyptian urban centers, Grecian civil culture and the rise and fall of metropolitan Rome. The earliest cities expressed "in concrete terms the magnification of sacred and secular power," and they also enlarged all the dimensions of life. "Beginning as a representation of the cosmos, a means of bringing heaven down to earth, the city became the symbol of the possible." The city offered protection. It offered freedom, diversity, and leisure. It offered technical innovations like a regular street plan and row houses. But urbanization brought with it also a division of labor carried to extremes, and the city, Mumford argues, established and institutionalized war which became, and still remains, one of the reasons for the city's existence. Through a parallel discussion of Mesopotamian and Egyptian cities, Mumford demonstrates the two choices that were open for the development of urban culture. One way was the way of the village; "voluntary cooperation, mutual accommodation, wider communication and understanding," with a resulting organic association. "The other was that of predatory domination leading to heartless exploitation and eventually to parasitic enfeeblement.... [This] form has largely dominated urban history till our own age."

Though Athenian housing may have been wretched, the whole human achievement was raised by the radiating influences of Olympia with its disciplined play, Delphi representing a great unifying civic and religious foundation, and Cos, the great health resort for the nurture of medical thought. "For a brief generation in Athens, the ways of the gods, the ways of nature, and the ways of men came close to a common point." What went wrong? Mumford demonstrates that the Greek cities were conceived in a static image. The Greeks came to worship the mere forms of their cities. The city itself became their god. The Hellenistic city was "sanitary, orderly, well organized, aesthetically unified, but grossly inferior in its capacity for fostering creative activity. From the fourth century on, buildings began to displace men." Even Plato was ready to sacrifice individual wholeness and balance for the sake of an ideal, regimented, insect-like community. And if man continues the present direction of his science and technology, he may yet achieve Plato's distorted Utopia.

In his succinct exploration of Rome, Mumford most forcefully draws a parallel to our own sick urban culture. Rome was the "symbol of the maximum possibility of urban confusion . . . the complete embodiment of purposeless materialism . . . suffering from megalopolitan elephantiasis." For, even though the Roman state established a regional planner's dream network of small towns throughout southern Europe, and standardized many of the best urban features like the arena, the bath, and the theater, it failed to make these colonies more interdependent with better self-government and regional autonomy. Such a system, quite possible with Rome's genius for order and justice, would have prevented the *fatal* over-growth of Rome itself. Dwelling at length on Rome's chronic sanitation, its parasitic order of life, and its

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sadistic public rituals, Mumford pointedly relates these pathological symptoms to our own demoralized time. If we fail to learn Rome's lesson, "a lesson so hard to read that city after city has taken mere physical and economic expansion as a testimony to its prosperity and culture," then the hangman and the vulture are hovering near though the urban shell is still intact.

I have dwelt at length on the pre-medieval city primarily because it is the skillful build-up of early detail that strikes the reader with the greatest impact. Throughout his discussions, but particularly in Greece, Mumford concentrates on the circumstances affecting the creative unification of man's inner and outer life. This urgent concern with the effects of the urban heritage on the complete human personality is at the core of Mumford's thinking. It gives this book, as it has all his previous writing, a refreshing, compelling vitality.

The great contribution of the medieval cities was their concept of the individual precinct and neighborhood within the city walls; a concept belatedly finding acceptance among city planners. But while it presented an outward harmony and unity, medieval civilization failed to adopt a workable inter-urban or metropolitan confederation which might have staved off the ravages of a rampant statism. Baroque urban planners, for all their exemplary focus on land use, succumbed to the demands for military and vehicular traffic; demands which ultimately meant that traffic took precedence over all other urban functions.

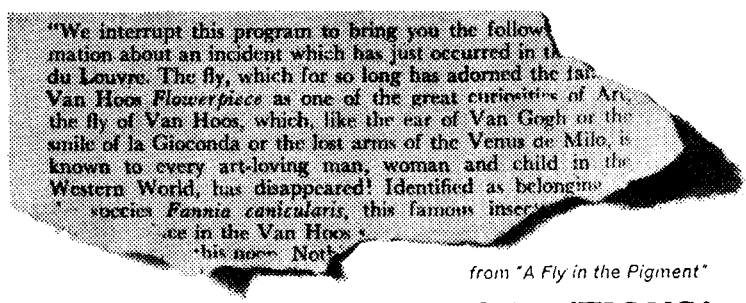
The dreary story of "industrial coketown" and "paleotechnic inferno" is explored in the final section of the book. Capitalism is the bogey. "In its emphasis on speculation, not security, upon profit-making innovations, rather than on value-conserving traditions and continuities, capitalism tended to dismantle the whole structure of urban life and place it upon a new impersonal basis: money and profit." Today the myth of the machine has become as stultifying for urban life as was the Greek myth of the ideal city.

What does Mumford see for the future? In a concluding essay, "Retrospect and Prospect," he says the issue is in doubt. On the one hand "the oppressive conditions that limited the development of cities throughout history have begun to disappear." Gone or on their way are slavery, forced labor, legalized expropriation, and hereditary notions of property, caste, and vocational specialization.

On the other hand, the institutions of totalitarian rulers, war, terrorism and secret knowledge "have been resurrected and magnified in our own time."

If war can be eliminated as a possibility, then there is a chance for man to "resume possession of himself" from all the life defeating forces surrounding him. "This sets the chief mission for the city of the future: that of creating a visible regional and civic structure, designed to make man at home with his deeper self and his larger world, attached to images of nurture and love."

A large and vital part of *The City in History* is the magnificent series of 156 photographs and illustrations accompanied by analytic texts. One can only hope that in the next edition the publishers will distribute these throughout the book rather than, as at present, have them in four unassimilable chunks. To have the pictures of Venice come in the middle of the discussion of Hellenistic urban culture, 120 pages before the chapter on Venice, cheats both reader and author. But while this is a technical criticism, one can only respond to the book itself with gratitude that there is a man among us who, as Van Wyck Brooks has said, has "this passion of affirmation, this faith in the creative instinct." For it is this passion and faith in the humane life that continually emerges throughout the book. Mumford looks at the fabric of cities from this particular angle of vision; the necessities for a full and rewarding life in which the development of man is brought to a true fruition. If some of Mumford's critics claim that he is still dispensing Emersonion pieties about wholeness and the good life to a world too cynical to listen, so be it. Mumford has here demonstrated what can happen to civilizations which ignore these lessons.


"We interrupt this program to bring you the follow
mation about an incident which has just occurred in th
du Louvre. The fly, which for so long has adorned the Jat
Van Hoos *Flowerpiece* as one of the great curiosities of Art,
the fly of Van Hoos, which, like the ear of Van Gogh or the
smile of la Gioconda or the lost arms of the Venus de Milo, is
known to every art-loving man, woman and child in the
Western World, has disappeared! Identified as belonging
species *Fannia canicularis*, this famous insect
ce in the Van Hoos
this noon. Not

from "A Fly in the Pigment"

ANNOUNCING CONTACT EDITIONS!

The creative excitement which built *Contact*, the San Francisco collection of new writing, art and ideas, has now sparked CONTACT EDITIONS. This new publisher brings you a selection from the best of today's forceful young writers and artists. If your current reading lacks the bite of a sharp mental stimulus these four titles will provide it:

A fly's-eye-view of Paris provides the backdrop for this hilarious first novel by Sidney Peterson—*A Fly in the Pigment* —a sparkling mixture of love, painting, metaphysics, sex and laughs strung together with satire . . . 160 pp 5½"x 8"...$1.95

Unusual glimpses of life in San Francisco's North Beach are provided by photographer Jerry Stoll in *I am a Lover*. Quotes culled from many sources by Evan S. Connell, Jr. add another dimension to this book. 125 photos...160 pp 8½"x11"..$2.95

Order from your bookstore or direct from the publishers at:

CONTACT EDITIONS, P. O. BOX 755
SAUSALITO, CALIFORNIA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Intelligence, Wit, Integrity and More

by Richmond Lattimore

In I. A. Richards' poetry, one might have expected a high quality of intelligence, wit, and integrity; one finds these virtues and a great deal more. The texture is dense, stiff with paradoxes, puns, word plays, tight hard phrases which sometimes hit with a kind of passion of reason, or reasonable passion.

The Screens and other Poems
by I. A. Richards
(Harcourt, Brace; $3.95)

Newton's "strange seas of thought"
By routine traffic jammed,
Their lanes queue-ful, their waves taught
Dry, their current cargoes damned.

These lines are from "Seafaring," a brilliant two-part poem too long to quote. Though snatched from their context, they will show the poetic compression at its best. The phrase "their waves taught dry" tells a whole huge situation in four words, but is still tucked strongly into its context of imagery. Often, however, the prosody and language give an effect of being not so much sinewy as muscle bound. This is an honorable fault (better thus than flabby) as shown in a stanza from "The Screens":

A thought, a feeling, fear, desire, or hope
Must be a sieve that holds back all but Some.
That Some alone's the sum of what is seen
While the sieve's active. How could One come
To see an All? The Many have more scope.

Intelligent, witty, strong too; but stiff; it doesn't move. Contrast another stanza from the same important poem:

(These grids without reflect the strain within:
What feet pad round and round that empty room?
What claws scratch on against that shivering door?
What looney prisoner can now assume
No wish denied, the Universe his bin?)

Despite the self-conscious parentheses and the word play, this does for a moment move with speed and freedom. On the whole, however, Mr. Richards' best poems are those in the metaphysical poet's own medium, the short-lined, rhymed, precise stanza. It is only fair to choose one ("Court of Appeal") out of half a dozen equally good and quote it in full, despite its length:

Nature is better dressed than Man.
These various Birds and Fish,
Even the 'gator on his bank,
Can
Make one wish
We people weren't so rank.

And, most, the Humbled One,
Self-fluent, living Stream,
Upon his belly in the dust:
None
Of all seem
In better Taste.

His suiting modest, rich, subdued,
Choice custom drape,
In stripe and weave correct:
Shrewd
For a Shape
So bitterly abject!

He, who originally rolled
"Erect," uplifted high
"His burnish't Neck of verdant Gold,"
"Crested aloft" and eye
Observant,

Through which the sight of Eve at work
Stooping amid her "Flourie Plat,"
Converting Satan, could
Irk
Evil itself, the Plot forgot:
"Stupidly good";

He whom the Tempter found
("Fearless unfeared he slept."
Why should he watch unwarned?)
And,
Within him crept,
Seized and suborned:
Brer Serpent, never a fool,
"Nor nocent yet" – a friend
To all – how should he know?
Tool
Only and
Punished so!

See now, the fly, the bream,
Bass, cormorant, gar and 'gator
Ravening. Was this all through Him?
And later
Bikinis too?

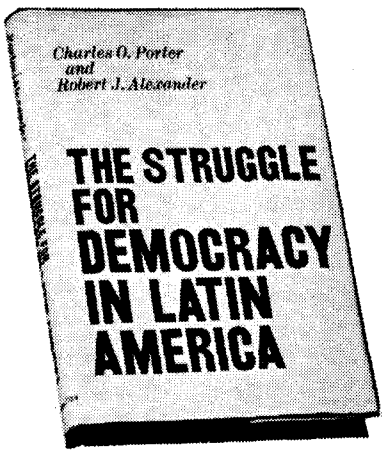
This poem, like certain others, has notes appended, which perhaps are not strictly necessary, but are interesting and helpful. The book contains also, at the end, an essay entitled "the Future of Poetry." The title misleads me; I find it more like a description of the "poetic process," the best I can do for a term at the moment, though Mr. Richards might hoot me down. The essay is superb. For one thing, I find that, except for three or four relatively minor propositions, I agree with all of it. That is very exciting for me, but not for my reader, so I will do better to call attention to the beauty and rightness of the prose, and quote one passage:

> "I say that I am not the Source (of what I say or write) for many reasons: partly, because what I find to say seems to be handed to me. (Not necessarily now – sentence by sentence – but at various times in the past when I wrote down these notes I am using; and before that, when notions I have remembered to use here, *first* happened to me. 'First,' I say. But there is no first in these things. Any ingredient in an utterance is shaped by former utterances – much as any cell in our bodies has its function through division and differentiation from our own earliest cells, and they in turn inherit their possibilities from yet earlier cells. Mind and body alike go back and back and back.)"

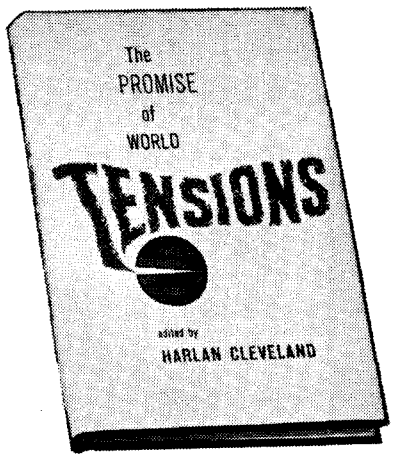
When a poet-critic writes prose so well, there is some danger that his criticism will be more moving than his verse. But this is unfair; the same kind of passion appears often in the poems, and these poems, the partial failures as well as the best ones, are poems to be read again and again.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

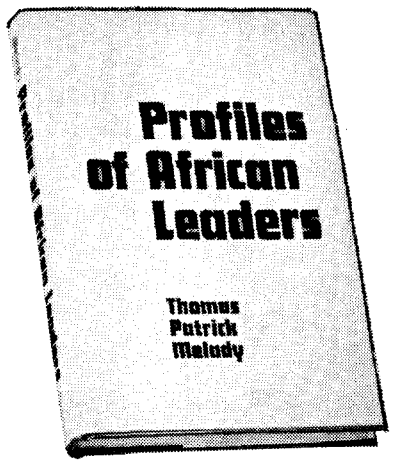
1961 publications on the current background of today's trouble spots . . .



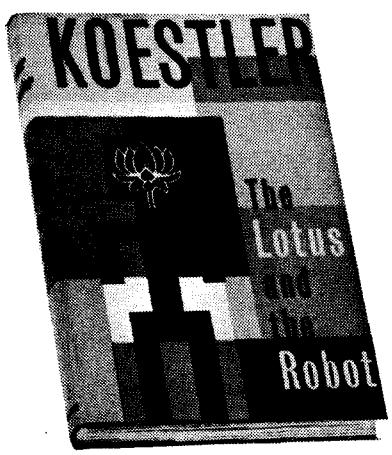
This "lucid, authoritative analysis" (*Library Journal*) provides a clear understanding and an honest appraisal of the struggle that is so crucial to the cause of democracy in the Western Hemisphere. Former Congressman Porter of Oregon and Professor Alexander of Rutgers University show how United States policy toward Latin America has been questionable and clumsy, and they offer a concrete program for democratic reform which would better serve the interests of both areas. $4.50



Some of the world's most outstanding statesmen and educators (Adlai Stevenson, Ralph Bunche, Lester Pearson, Harry Ashmore, and others) discuss practical steps for promoting world law, economic growth, and freer communications. Papers they prepared for the 1960 Conference of the Council on World Tensions have been selected by the Assistant Secretary of State for International Affairs who has contributed "an illuminating preface and an epilogue." — *Saturday Review* $3.50



"If we are to understand the decisions being taken by African leaders, we need to go deeply into their range of choices and the pressures to which they are subject. Mr. Melady's book will provide a good background . . . [Here are] introductions to people whose names should be more widely known and to countries of increasing importance to our own . . . Much of the information he provides is not easily available elsewhere." — *N. Y. Times Book Review* $4.95



"Probably the most exciting inquiry into this whole subject to date . . . one of the most special and fascinating guidebooks to the Oriental spirit that a traveler in the East could carry in his luggage." — *Newsweek*

". . . neither Yoga, Zen, nor any other Asian form of mysticism has any significant advice to offer." — from the book

"His [Koestler's] is a meritorious as well as a needful act of debunking, for which he deserves our gratitude." —C. G. Jung

"I strongly recommend it to the thoughtful reader . . . a blend of travel, political science and religious mysticism." — John Barkham, Saturday Rev. Syndicate $3.95

THE SEAWAY STORY
by Carleton Mabee

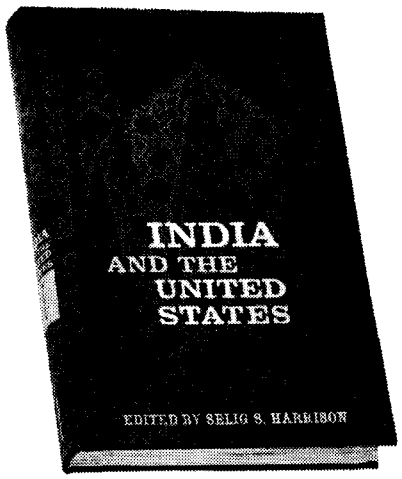
The Pulitzer Prize-winning author shows how the St. Lawrence Seaway remakes the map of North America; why it took so long to build; its value to us and the world. "Without question this is the best book written about the controversial St. Lawrence Seaway." — *Chicago Tribune*. "Mr. Mabee tells his fascinatingly involved tale with both clarity and authority." — *N. Y. Times Book Review* $5.95

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE GREAT POWERS
by Sir William Hayter

One of England's most distinguished diplomats candidly surveys the negotiation of foreign affairs in Washington, London, Paris, and Moscow. "I hope that this excellent manual will be read by all those who are sometimes bewildered by the relation between foreign policy and diplomacy." — Harold Nicolson, *The Observer* $2.75

THE GREATEST PROBLEM AND OTHER ESSAYS
by F. L. Lucas

Comments on subjects ranging from Housman's poetry to birth control — by the distinguished author of *The Art of Living* and *The Search for Good Sense*. "Wonderfully exhilarating to read . . . immense wealth of information . . . gigantic vigor . . . mental excitement . . . He [Mr. Lucas] is not a specialist, he merely has sentiment, sense and wisdom, humor and cultivation. What else is knowledge for?" — Howard Mumford Jones, *Saturday Review* $5.00



A timely and provocative summing-up of the important Washington conference on the growing crisis in India. Mr. Harrison, an Associate Editor of *The New Republic*, skillfully records the highlights of speeches by eighty-eight experts (including President Kennedy, Chester Bowles, Averell Harriman, Nixon, Frank Moraes, and B. K. Nehru) on our vital stake in India's future and methods of meeting the challenge of Communism in underdeveloped areas. $5.95

The Macmillan Company
60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N.Y.
(A Division of the Crowell-Collier Publishing Company)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Ends and Means of Ayn Rand

by Joel Rosenbloom

Once upon a time, says Ayn Rand, the world was ruled by a combination of faith and force – by a conspiracy of priests and tyrants. The priests kept men under control by persuading them that the world was irrational, that their minds were impotent, and that the self-seeking pursuit of happiness was sinful. The tyrants kept men under control by the exertion of physical force. The Witch Doctor and Attila, to use Miss Rand's phrase,* used and needed one another. The Witch Doctor supplied Attila with a coherent view of the world and human destiny, in addition to performing as opiate of the masses; Attila supplied the Witch Doctor with power and the material means of survival. Each hated, feared and envied the other. Together they kept mankind in a state of material poverty and moral degradation.

For the New Intellectual:
The Philosophy of Ayn Rand
(Random House, $3.95)

Onto this scene of decadence strode the modern businessman and the modern scientist. The Renaissance "blasted the rule of the Witch Doctor sky-high, setting the *earth* free of his power." The industrial revolution, completing the task of the Renaissance, "blasted Attila off his throne." Finally, the Founding Fathers of America created the "first society in history whose leaders were neither Attilas nor Witch Doctors, a society led, dominated and created by the *Producers*."

The social system which the Founding Fathers established was capitalism – not perfect, totally unregulated capitalism, but the nearest approach to that ideal the world had ever known. Capitalism, unlike the previous system, was based on the principle that every man existed for his own sake. It rewarded all men in proportion to their abilities and efforts, thus showing its moral superiority to societies based on the looting of Attila and the mooching of the Witch Doctor. Moreover, it achieved unprecedented material prosperity, for "when men are free to trade, with reason and reality as their only arbiter, when no man may use physical force to extort the consent of another, it is the best product and the best judgment that win in every field of human endeavor, and raise the standard of living – and of thought – ever higher for all those who take part in mankind's productive activity."

Alas, the free businessman and the free intellectual (who replaced Attila and the Witch Doctor) fell out. The fault lay with the intellectual. The businessman did *his* part by achieving material prosperity, but the intellectual – who was supposed to supply an integrating philosophy explaining, defending and justifying the new society – defaulted on his role. Unable to leave the Dark Ages, he sneered at the businessman for his lack of aesthetic taste and bourgeois manners. Worst of all, he turned his back on the real world and insisted on preaching a philosophy which – whatever its form – denigrated man's mind, damned honest self-seeking and exalted self-sacrifice in the style of the Witch Doctor of old.

As a result, Miss Rand continues, the businessman was made to feel guilty and came to fear and despise the intellect. The intellectual, who was really seeking a new Attila, found one in Socialism, which – as everyone who is not of the "Attila-ist" mentality will admit – led necessarily to Nazism and Soviet Communism. Today, the United States drifts aimlessly (without a firm, integrating philosophy) toward the Dark Ages. Philosophers teach us that man's mind is impotent; psychologists tell us that man is a helpless automaton. Our literature asks us to identify with murderers, dipsomaniacs, drug addicts, neurotics and psychotics. And in politics, our intellectuals tell us that "America, the greatest, noblest, freest country on earth, is politically and morally inferior to Soviet Russia, the bloodiest dictatorship in history – and that our wealth should be given away to the savages of Asia and Africa, with apologies for the fact that we have produced it while they haven't." This is the ultimate bankruptcy.

But the New Intellectual will change all this by supplying the philosophy which others have failed to provide. Indeed, Miss Rand has already invented it. It is (she says) implicit in her novels – long and short passages from the novels are included in the book under review – and is outlined in the book's opening essay. A full presentation of her "new theory of the nature, source and validation of concepts" is under preparation. For the present, the essential points are (1) that the world is rational and knowable, and that the only way to live is to conquer nature through the exercise of your mind; (2) that man exists for his own sake, and hence that the *only* moral form of human cooperation is the exchange of goods and services on the free market; (3) that anyone who does not make a living as a Producer is either an Attila (who seizes goods and services from others by force), a Witch Doctor (who persuades others that they owe him a living) or also – like the great mass of us – one who fluctuates between roles.

It follows from all this that anyone who preaches the moral value of unselfishness or self-transcendence is either a fool or a knave. It also follows that any use of governmental power to redistribute income, provide social security or unemployment compensation, construct and operate schools, or do anything which is not absolutely necessary to keep a "free economy" clear of force and fraud, must involve some form of legalized robbery.

One does not need the photograph on the book jacket to know that Miss Rand is a woman beset by a vision. I cannot personally approach the intellectual apparatus by means of which she implements that vision without a snort or a cry of outrage, but I do have a semi-articulate response to her work, considered as an object of cultural and social history.

We do not lack thinkers of substance on the intellectual Right. Men like Frank H. Knight, Wilhelm Röpke and Bertrand de Jouvenel are no mean antagonists for any would-be anti-capitalist. Authors of this type, however, are generally distinguished by their

* Miss Rand is careful to give the credit for this "eloquent designation" of the "two archetypes" to a Nathaniel Branden.

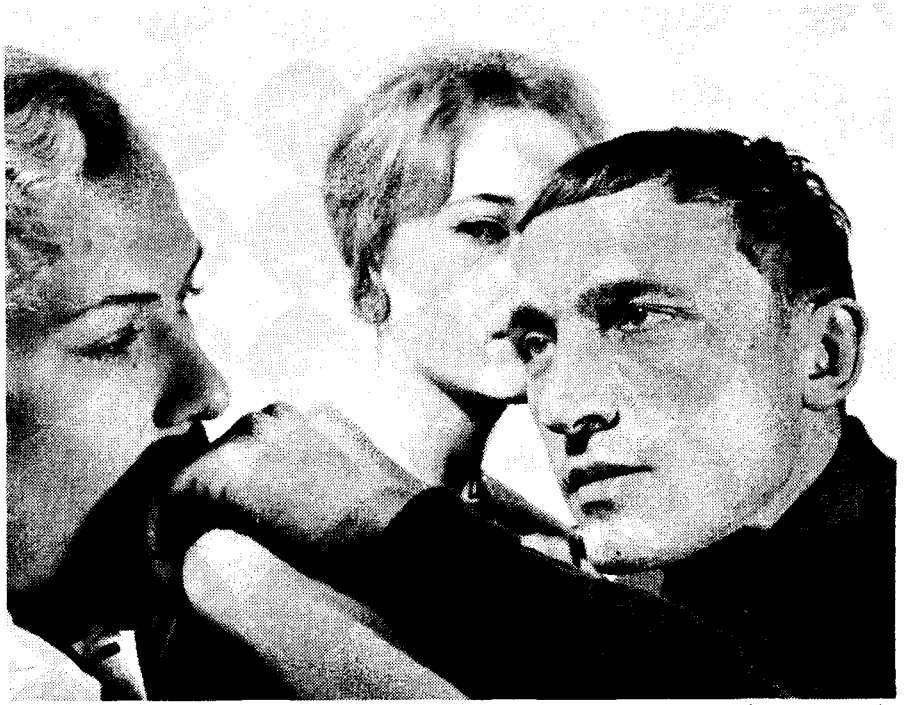
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

commitment to responsibility, their feeling for the limitations of their positions and their insistence on grappling with living problems. All of them write on an entirely different intellectual level from the one occupied by Miss Rand. None of them would indulge in her sophomoric analysis of the history of Western philosophy or her attempt to show that the difference between a capitalist and a socialist is one uniquely dependent upon epistemology.

On the other hand, Miss Rand is not to be classed with the members of the John Birch Society. If her philosophy is largely pretentious nonsense, it is still important enough to her to warrant a laborious, relatively coherent development of the "psycho-epistemology" which she attributes to her three "archetypes" (Attila, the Witch Doctor and the Producer).

Of course she straightway treats it as the Key which unlocks all Mysteries, in a manner reminiscent of the more vulgar Marxists toward the theory of economic determinism. Rudimentary as it is, the Rand system provides a viewpoint on the essential meaning of history and the significance of current events, as well as a rough guide to personal morality (of a sort). There is just enough truth about unprovable matters in its major assertions to make adherence by self-respecting persons possible, for awhile. Best of all, like other similar systems, it supplies a coherent set of "answers" which can never be shaken by mere argument (since every situation can be defined so as to fall within the terms of the system) and a stout forensic stick with which to beat fellow intellectuals who have not as yet seen the light.

There seems little likelihood of an expanding future for Miss Rand's system or her following. The irreligious, or even anti-religious, character of her position cuts her off from a number of right-wing groups whose support she might otherwise enjoy. The same factor probably bars her access, in the foreseeable future, to any mass following. She or others like her will be around, however, as long as there are non-religious intellectuals on the Right who feel the need to see politics and life in terms of one rigid and all-embracing dogma.



Do you dare to get involved?

Here, a naked portrait of jealousy. A healthy defense or neurotic syndrome? Find out in the unusual and lucid pages of Réalités magazine. In fact, you will see, feel and share in all types of experiences, for Réalités is Realism.

Month after month, Réalités takes you on an escapade with professional camera and pen down the many different avenues of life on the Continent: the arts, current events, fashion, food, philosophy, politics, travel—topics of great interest... topics of delight, always the things that make European living all-enveloping.

Be intellectually engrossed... be entertained by France's foremost commentators and journalists. Keep Réalités within arm's reach to see, perhaps study, the valuable collection of paintings and photographs ingeniously reproduced on heavy varnished paper. You might even agree with the critics who call this *"The Most Beautiful Magazine In The World."*

Mailed direct from Paris, Réalités is available in English-language or French-language editions. Treat yourself, and particular friends or relatives, to the thoroughly fresh and rewarding experience of "living in Europe"... for a year.

Available by subscription only. $15.00 a year (12 issues)

Réalités

REALITES in America, Dept. 68
301 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
Please enter my subscription to REALITES:

☐ English Edition
☐ French Edition

☐ 1 year (12 issues) $15
☐ 2 years (24 issues) $25

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____ ZONE____ STATE _____

Above subscription is a ☐ Gift ☐ My own

☐ Payment enclosed. ☐ Please bill me.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Philosophy of a Legal Realist

by Alexander M. Bickel

"If a man has the soul of Sancho Panza," Holmes told Harvard undergraduates in 1886, "the world to him will be Sancho Panza's world; but if he has the soul of an idealist, he will make – I do not say find – his world ideal. Of course, the law is not the place for the artist or the poet. The law is the call-

The Legal Conscience:
Selected Papers of Felix S. Cohen
Edited by Lucy Kramer Cohen
Foreword by Felix Frankfurter
Introduction by Eugene V. Rostow
(Yale; $12.50)

ing of thinkers. But to those who believe with me that not the least godlike of man's activities is the large survey of causes, that to know is not less than to feel, I say – and I say no longer with any doubt – that a man may live greatly in the law as well as elsewhere; that there as well as elsewhere his thought may find its unity in an infinite perspective; that there as well as elsewhere he may wreak himself upon life, may drink the bitter cup of heroism, may wear his heart out after the unattainable."

I quote the passage not merely for what is the almost physical pleasure of copying it and thus gaining a share in its beauty; but because it constitutes a just and measured appreciation of the life and work of Felix Cohen, son of Holmes' friend, the redoubtable Morris Raphael Cohen. Felix Cohen died in 1953 at the age of 46. He had been a distinguished philosopher of the law, making his mark in a time of great ferment, when a substantial company of original minds were vigorously addressing themselves to the fundamental presuppositions of the system. Like his father, he was trained and worked as a philosopher. But unlike his father, he was trained as a lawyer also, and hence, in another phrase of Holmes', was able to "plunge deep in the stream of life . . . both as witness and actor." Felix Cohen was for many years Assistant Solicitor of the Department of the Interior. Among his other concerns during this period were the rights and liabilities of our nation's ancient colonial subject – the Indian. Such an essay as "Americanizing the White Man," reprinted in this volume, is evidence of his deep and sympathetic appreciation of the Indian. His "Handbook of Federal Indian Law" established him as the leading authority on the subject.

The Legal Conscience, collecting the better part of Cohen's occasional papers, is a coherent volume, though it ranges in subject matter from a paper on "Casuistry," through "Indians are Citizens!" and "Science and Politics in Plans for Puerto Rico" and "Civil Rights in Immigration." The root ideas that lend unity to this volume as they did to Cohen's lifework are legal realism and the conviction that the law cannot escape dealing with questions of ethics. In the service of these ideas, Felix Cohen, who had a sharp polemical gift, gave no quarter, defending them, on occasion, even when they had not quite been attacked. Thus in an address on "Judicial Ethics," delivered near the end of his life, he belabored, with nearly equal zest, Mr. Justice Sutherland, Mr. Justice Jackson, Mr. Justice Frankfurter and a nameless Ohio judge.

The legal realists, now a small and somewhat forlorn number of individuals, were in their day a school, and Cohen was one of their leaders. They taught, in Cohen's words, that "the vivid fictions and metaphors of traditional jurisprudence" are no more than "poetical or mnemonic devices for formulating decisions reached on other grounds." They were themselves taught this by Holmes and by Morris Raphael Cohen and others, and we know it, though the danger is ever present that some, especially among judges who have the power to create new poetical devices, are unlearning it. Cohen and his peers strained forward to find, in modern ethics, the grounds on which a new jurisprudence might be made to rest soundly and realistically. Cohen was not resigned to conclude that the "poetical and mnemonic devices" screen personal predilection, hunch, perhaps corruption – no more. It was never realistic so to conclude. And in any event, that is a reality that should not and must not and need not be al-

For the White House, the Pentagon, and you to ponder

THE NATION'S SAFETY AND ARMS CONTROL

by ARTHUR T. HADLEY

"This is an important book. It would be well for our country if it were prayerfully pondered in the White House and the Pentagon. . . . Not everyone is afraid to think about the threat of nuclear warfare and some men have thought long and hard about it. Among them few have thought more clearly and reasonably than ARTHUR T. HADLEY. . . . His conclusions are personal, but they are based upon the best obtainable information."

--ORVILLE PRESCOTT, N. Y. Times

At your bookstore, $3.00 THE VIKING PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lowed. But some of the followers, out of breath, stopped just there.

Cohen has occasion to quote from the *New Statesman* of some years ago a variation on Bertrand Russell's "conjugation of irregular verbs" (I am firm/ You are obstinate/ He is a pigheaded fool). It runs as follows:

1. I have about me something of the subtle, haunting, mysterious fragrance of the Orient.
2. You rather overdo it, dear.
3. She stinks.

It has always been at least a recurrent tradition in criticism of the legal system to suggest that its conceptual constructs often have about them a subtle, haunting, mysterious fragrance of total unreality. Cohen and the school of realists were at pains to point out that the system was rather overdoing it in this respect. And they proceeded with the attempt to found it in the reality of the proper ethical and practical considerations. Some of their followers merely mutter – or exclaim – a cynical, "She stinks," and are content to let it go at that. A close rereading of the work of Felix Cohen would be good for their souls.

Platonism, Soviet Style

by Christopher Jencks

The analogy between Plato's *Republic* and the Soviet Union is far from perfect, but this collection of essays certainly suggests a state in which the intelligentsia and the ruling class are more nearly synonymous than ever before in human history. The identity seems to remain imperfect only because Marxist doctrine has so far been

The Politics of Soviet Education
Edited by George Z. F. Bereday
and Jan Pennar
(Praeger; $5)

unable to prevent successful families from boosting their children toward success, and perhaps also because internal and international tensions still provide the shrewder politicians with opportunities to circumvent the logic of a rationalized bureaucracy.

Whatever the effect of this Platonic social structure on politics, its impact on the educational and cultural life of the USSR is impressive. In the first place, the overlap of the intelligentsia and the power elite leaves little room for the cliques of autonomous intellectuals who have been a fixture of Western society for some 800 years. In Western bodies politic "the intellectuals" are one of many minorities competing for influence over the (mythical) majority. So are politicians. The result is a continuing dialectic between men obsessed with rationality and men concerned with expediency. Each group incorporates part of the other's outlook, hoping to enhance its influence over other minorities, and perhaps more important, hoping to increase its own self-confidence. In Russia no such dialectic seems to be built into the social machinery, and "intellectuals" in the Western sense seem hardly to exist. Only a major upheaval (such as Khrushchev's attack on "Stalinism"), or disaffection with the regime on the part of a few quasi-bourgeois university students, encourages the kind of free-wheeling critique of Russian institutions and programs which is so common in America.

But if power corrupts the allegiance of Russian intellectuals to abstract truth, it enhances the allegiance of Russian students to academic success. As Ramazan Karca writes:

"Under the Soviet regime, where private property has been abolished and no opportunities exist for expressing personal initiative in industry, agriculture, commerce, or other areas of life, the sole condition for a tolerable existence is a diploma from a higher educational institution. To obtain this document, which, together with a Party card, also makes it possible to enter the ruling Communist circles or the ranks of the well-paid intelligentsia, young people in the Soviet Union

XPEIAZETAI BOHOEIA*

* He Needs Help

The walls of Demetrios' home in the slums of Athens are cracked. Icy winds blow right on his face while he sleeps. His blanket is threadbare. He eats one meal a day—bread dipped in oil.

Demetrios' mother has tuberculosis and is hospitalized. His father, a rag man, earns $13 a month. Demetrios does not pray for a blanket or more food. He prays to grow up quickly so that he can help his parents.

How you can help . . .

You, your group, your school can give person-to-person help to a needy girl or boy in Greece, Korea, Italy, Finland, France, Lebanon, West Germany or Austria through a Save the Children Federation Sponsorship. Your monthly contribution of $12.50 will provide your sponsored child with supplementary food, warm clothing, household goods and cash. You will receive a photograph and the story of the child you are helping and the child or his family will correspond with you. Please fill in the coupon below and join with thousands of SCF sponsors in a warm, rewarding experience.

SCF NATIONAL SPONSORS INCLUDE:
Hon. Herbert Hoover
Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower
Spyros Skouras

Registered with U. S. State Department Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid

Serving Children for 29 Years
SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION
Boston Post Road, Norwalk, Connecticut

I want a ☐ girl ☐ boy in .....
(countries listed above)
or where the need is greatest ☐.
Enclosed is my first payment:
$12.50 a month ☐ $37.50 a quarter ☐
$75 semi-annually ☐ $150 annually ☐
I cannot sponsor a child but enclosed is my contribution of $.....
Name.....
Address.....
City.....Zone.....State.....
Contributions are income tax deductible.
NR-4-1

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

study with a degree of concentration that is quite unknown in other countries."

Furthermore, as George Bereday points out in the best of these eleven essays, this bureaucratic arrangement is associated, as historically one would expect it to be, with a highly "classical" curriculum. Every Russian urban child, regardless of ability and probable future work and leisure activities, studies a foreign language, mathematics, and the natural sciences. If all mastered these subjects, it would be impossible to find suitable factory workers, farm laborers, and street cleaners. At best, these groups would be continually rebelling against their dreary work. Fortunately for domestic tranquility, say the writers (who often speak from personal experience as Russian students), secondary school students rarely master these subjects (especially foreign languages). Yet their schoolwork teaches them contempt for the manual labor which they must perform, and failure in school is preparation for failure in a bureaucratized life.

It is not easy to see how any industrial state, committed to universal education, can avoid a good deal of discontent and boredom among those whom it condemns to routine repetitive jobs. Both Russia and America have tried to reduce the number of such degrading jobs, with some success. But the Russians, at least, have not been able to create skilled and intellectual work as fast as they have created skilled and intellectual workers, which is one reason why in 1958 Khrushchev proposed reorganization of secondary education to reduce pressure for admission to the universities. It is flattering to realize that America, with twice as many college graduates as the Soviet Union, still has too few rather than too many.

England tried for many years not to educate the working classes at all, or at least not beyond the literacy needed to read the Bible. America devised a system of "life adjustment" education for the prospective working-class youngster, which assured him of literacy, protected him from feeling a total failure at 15, and provided him with the outward symbols of social equality. In America, only the prospective middle and upper classes have been exposed to the academic curriculum which paves the way to success in the corporations and professions.

The Russians, committed to a "proletarian revolution," have been unwilling to adopt this American scheme of distinctive curricula for different strata, much less the modern English scheme of different schools for different classes. Russian pedagogues have hoped that if every child were offered a ruling-class education, every child would somehow become a leader. Faced with the fact that even a Communist society cannot use two million new "leaders" every year, the Russians have still scorned a differentiated curriculum. Instead, Khrushchev has proposed that schools produce two million "followers," who would revel in manual labor. Only after they had proven themselves in working class roles would gifted young people be allowed to continue their education in the universities and prepare themselves for top jobs. The difficulty with this scheme, as Khrushchev's opponents quickly pointed out, was that it would seriously disrupt the training of scientific and technical personnel. Furthermore, as his opponents noted privately though not publicly, it would jeopardize the special status and privileges of the party hierarchy, who often attend selective schools and get special consideration for the university applications – without which they cannot hope to follow in their parents' footsteps. After much debate, special provision has been made for "exceptional" children to stay in school throughout adolescence, and if events follow their present drift, the common curriculum will no doubt soon be a thing of the past in the Soviet Union. Whether this will increase or decrease the popular preference for white collar as against blue collar work remains to be seen.

These speculations about the relationship between schools and work in Russia are probably the most valuable part of this collection. Most of the essays, although always competent and usually instructive, are confined largely to the simple problem of ferreting out facts which are concealed by language and secrecy. Some, such as Berg's destruction of the myth that Russians are all linguists, are immensely valuable. Others, such as Father Floridi's essay on Soviet religious education, contribute little besides passion. The only discussion of education for ethnic minorities comes in a paragraph on language instruction for those who do not speak Russian as a native tongue, and a footnote on anti-Semitism. I have elsewhere gained the impression that the USSR is still more "internationalist" than the USA in that it is more reluctant to assume that Russification will be the unmitigated blessing that we are to assume Americanization has been – and that the Russians are readier than we to tolerate a wide and permanent diversity within their federal structure. A careful look at Soviet education would give us new light on such questions. For example, are the underdeveloped countries which care little for the economic ideology of either capitalism or Communism wise to assume that Russia is readier than America to respect their distinctive national heritages and aspirations? How has the treatment of the Siberian natives compared with America's treatment of the Indians? And have the Letts who immigrated to America preserved more or less of what they valued in life than those who stayed behind in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Latvia?

STUDENTS

A reminder that

The New Republic,

long an under-graduate taste, has a special student rate –

$5 a year

Gift Subscriptions Solicited

•

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 - 19th St., N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Stasis Seekers

by Asher Brynes

One of the troubles of the mass society is that the distance between the producers and users of practically everything keeps growing all the time. This is true of ideas as well as vegetables. Farmers' wives now make up grocery lists like their city sisters and rush off to supermarkets where they pick among the same packages in the freezer cases and on the shelves. How do they know what to choose? Do they really understand what they are doing? Not according to Vance Packard, who has shown repeatedly (and it might be added profitably) how the hucksters of Madison Avenue have advised, coaxed, threatened, tempted shoppers with plausible reasons and premium offers.

The Futilitarian Society
by William J. Newman
(Braziller; $6)

Similarly, Mr. Newman has discovered that ideas about the good as well as great society, *values*, as philosophers call them, are packaged and offered by the communications specialists who control the mass media. These operators range from political and social thinkers (today the American university is also a mass medium) to statesmen, politicians in and out of office and, finally, newspapermen. The *values* they push are much more important than any other kind of goods, particularly when a number of them have been sorted out for compatibility and fitted together in interlocking clusters or systems called *ideologies*. Such bundles of ideas are the direct determinants of action even among people unaware that they are influenced by them, or who have but a half-knowledge of them. According to each person's belief in an ideology, he will choose a candidate, a political party, an administration, a form of government and ultimately a way of life. If you have little sense of ideological direction you will be pushed along by those who do.

So ideologies must, must, must be honestly labeled. Instead, Mr. Newman finds that they are often misleadingly packaged. Pure poison is sold as the elixir of life in the marketplace of ideas all over the United States. This finding so infuriates him that he has produced one of the noisiest books of our time. The proceedings within it, as the Professor (he teaches Government at Boston University) moves from one autopsy to another, reminds one of what used to happen in old-fashioned operating theaters before the discovery of anesthesia. The author-surgeon wears an apron spattered with blood; his sleeves are rolled up; shadowy assistants – Mr. Newman mentions but a handful of contemporaries who agree with him – hold the patient on the table. And each chapter ends in a dismemberment, with the parts of what was once an ideology thrown to the four winds amidst storms of invective.

Mr. Newman believes that the worst evil of the 20th Century is conservatism. He is appalled by even the most attenuated forms of it, by Walter Lippmann as much as by Barry Goldwater, for instance, and seeks to demolish both with equal zest. He has an infallible method for finding out whether a thinker is infected with this error. Does the man refer to past experience? Does he draw from it a rule by which to guide ourselves in the present? If he does so he is trying to fasten a *mortmain* on freedom and thus foreclose our hopes of the future.

This vulgarization of liberalism produces an equally vulgar style:

> "Conservatism in the United States . . . seeks to bring change, innovation, and therefore freedom to an end. It strives to hold man down . . . a conservative society is one which is trifling, frivolous and vain . . . [it has] no other solutions to the problems of human existence than to keep men quiet."

The conservative's strongest argument, of course, is that such quiet is preferable to the turmoil that prevailed under

For serious filmgoers . . .

a new,

stimulating, very unusual book

MOVIES, MORALS, AND ART

In a book that looks at motion pictures from two revealing angles, Mr. Getlein, art critic of *The New Republic*, considers movies as an art form; Father Gardiner, literary editor of *America*, deals with the moral dimensions, rejecting prudishness as a principle of morality.

"Above everything else, the book explains clearly the underlying causes of the deepening crisis in the American movie industry. It makes a valid comment on many basic issues (and) offers a constructive view towards a new creative approach."—*Fred Zinnemann*

By FRANK GETLEIN and HAROLD C. GARDINER, S.J.

At your bookstore • $3.50

SHEED & WARD, 64 University Place, New York 3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The facts behind the headlines . . .

THE BLACK MUSLIMS IN AMERICA

By C. Eric Lincoln

Foreword by Gordon W. Allport

$4.95

- Who are the Black Muslims?
- What are their aims?
- Are they a threat to America?

This first extended study of the Muslim movement—an organization of over 100,000 Negroes who preach reverse segregation, hatred of whites, and who hope to establish a Negro kingdom in the American South—casts a new and penetrating light on the state of racial tension in America today.

As a social psychologist and an ordained Methodist minister, Dr. Lincoln writes with deep understanding and critical perspective. He makes clear how the Muslim Movement grew out of the tangle of American race relations; what its mass appeal is; what frightening implications it holds for America.

Characterized by Gordon W. Allport of Harvard as "one of the best technical case studies in the whole literature of social science," *The Black Muslims in America* will be welcomed by all those who seek improved understanding of race relations.

At your book store, or write

BEACON PRESS
25 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

Mussolini, Stalin and Hitler. Nor would it do Mr. Newman any good to argue that the way was prepared for the emergence of these dictators by conservative societies that were trifling, frivolous and vain. Czarism, to pick but one case, was no trifle; and between its dying and the appearance of a Communist government there was an interval in which a regime of democratic socialism prevailed. History, indeed society itself, is much too complicated for these simplicities.

Lippmann is no doubt the most considerable personage who comes under Mr. Newman's knife (the others are a mixed bag: Max Ways, Daniel Bell, Barry Goldwater, James Burnham, Felix Morley, William Henry Chamberlain, Peter Viereck, Russell Kirk, Louis Hartz, Daniel Boorstin and Clinton Rossiter). He zeroes in exclusively on *The Public Philosophy*, published by Lippmann in 1955, and justifies this fixed focus by remarking that "Lippmann's record of inconsistencies [is] the only consistent thread in his writings." What he finds there is "the severest conservatism, one that differs little if at all from that of Kirk." The significance of this is that Russell Kirk is the worst cuss-word in Mr. Newman's anti-conservative vocabulary – *his* conservatism, says our author, "is the conservatism of nightmare, of an obsession with decadence and decay."

Once this identification has been made the author of *The Futilitarian Society* moves in for the kill. His method has to be seen to be believed.

> "The most significant source of Lippmann's conservative bias . . . is the pre-World War I liberal-critical view of society which he has maintained. He still has many of the attributes of the typical intellectual of the years before 1920 and especially he still has a distrust of democracy and the public. . . . The Eastern seaboard intellectual of the days of Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt is displayed both in the contorted, fastidious, and painful prose of Lippmann, and in his despair that no one in a crude society will listen to the sensitive few."

A fairer statement of the conservative temper would be that it is skeptical, pessimistic and unromantic; unimaginative, generally speaking, but also tough and resolute – an ideal set of qualities for the men who run established institutions. These types flourish most plentifully in older societies. They do not quite fit into business enterprise, as we know it in this country, with its prevailing optimism, at least in matters dealing with technological innovation. The best thing in Mr. Newman's book is his recognition of this fact once he disengages himself from personalities and asks who, in the plural, are the conservatives among us. The businessman, he discovers, is not only "the kingpin of the American economy, he is also the kingpin of any interpretation of American society." Yet, as he notes, this same businessman is distrusted by conservative thinkers, a point which is of the greatest significance. That is the reason why it is unlikely that the US will become, in the foreseeable future, a conservative country in the strict sense of the word.

But even in dealing with this one grand insight Mr. Newman cannot resist the temptation to bludgeon the conservative ideologues who so bother him. The main reason why *they* distrust the businessman is because of "his devastating record in the 19th Century." Such fantastic poppycock is beyond the grasp of ordinary minds. Then he turns about and piles confusion on error because he must bludgeon the businessman too. The trouble with him, says Mr. Newman on the next page, is that he does not want the social and political changes that his technological innovations have made necessary. "One may take as an example of his inability to see the consequences of his acts the recently introduced compact cars. Having created a situation in which urban life has come to a condition of near-crisis through the overproduction of automobiles, what is the businessman's solution to the problem he has created? His solution is to produce more but slightly smaller cars!" Why, again? Because "there was a profit to be made from compact cars, and a real solution would mean social innovation," which businessmen oppose.

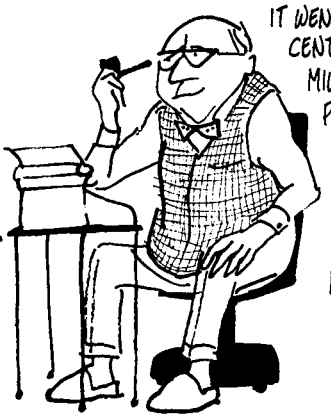
Thus Mr. Newman floats clear of reality. The compact car was actually

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jules Feiffer

MY FIRST PAPERBACK TITLE WAS "THE **NAKED SLASHER PENT-HOUSE** CAPER." THE JACKET WAS IN **BLOOD RED** WITH THE DRAWING OF A CHAINED, HALF NAKED GIRL HOLDING A KNIFE AT THE THROAT OF A PRIVATE COP IN A TRENCH COAT.

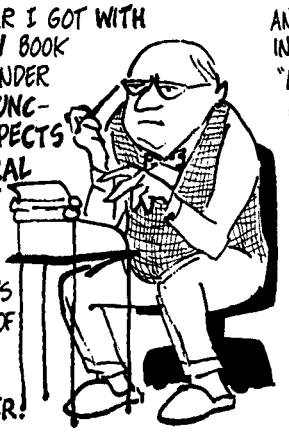
THE SUB-HEAD ON THE COVER WENT - "WHEN THE SEDUCTRESS FROM THE SANITARIUM HIRED DETECTIVE MIKE YESTERDAY ALL THE RULES HAD TO BE REWRITTEN."



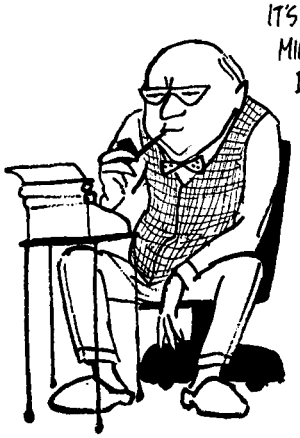
IT WENT FOR TWENTY-FIVE CENTS. IT SOLD TWELVE MILLION. I HAD FIFTEEN PAPERBACKS AFTER THAT - BING! BING! BING! TWELVE MILLION! TWELVE MILLION! TWELVE MILLION!

THEN - ALL OF A SUDDEN - **NOWHERE!** PRICES GO UP, HOT COVERS GO OUT, **CLASS** COMES IN. I CAN'T EVEN GET AN EDITOR TO **TALK** TO ME.

SO LAST YEAR I GOT **WITH IT!** MY **NEW** BOOK CAME OUT UNDER THE TITLE "**FUNCTIONAL ASPECTS OF THE MORAL DICHOTOMY IN JUDEO-CHRISTIAN MAN**" THERE'S A PAINTING OF MOZART BY BEN SHAHN ON THE COVER!

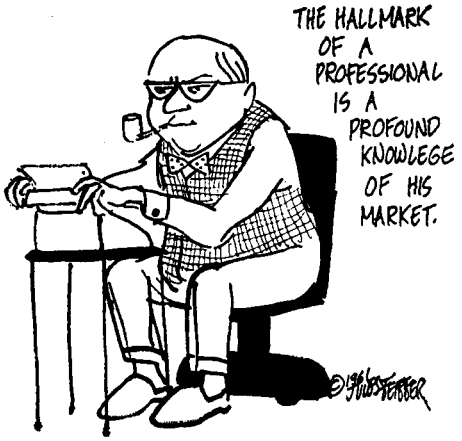


AND ONLY WHEN YOU TURN TO THE INSIDE DO YOU SEE THE **SUB-HEAD** - "WHEN THE SEDUCTRESS FROM ANTIOCH HIRED ANTHROPOLOGIST MIKE YESTERDAY ALL OF DESCARTES' THEORIES DEMANDED REAPPRAISAL." AND JUST UNDER THAT IT READS - "A CRITICAL ALLEGORY OF OUR TIME."



IT'S SOLD FOURTEEN MILLION COPIES, I'VE GOTTEN DOZENS OF OFFERS TO SPEAK AT UNIVERSITIES, AND "OMNIBUS" IS DOING MY LIFE STORY.

4-2



THE HALLMARK OF A PROFESSIONAL IS A PROFOUND KNOWLEGE OF HIS MARKET.

©1961 JULES FEIFFER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

introduced from Europe, and not by American producers – the consumers of automobiles wanted it and they had their way. And now that Detroit is producing such cars the customers are asking for extra-size "compacts" and the trend seems to be starting to flow in the reverse direction. This is another illustration, perhaps, of the way life can be too complicated for the ideologues. As for Mr. Newman's strongly stated assertion that businessmen are at fault because they do not chase after social and political change, in harmony with their liking for technological innovation, one might observe that he would no doubt be the first to object if Wall Street tried to run the country too. This book demeans liberals as the Birch Society shames our conservatives.

ART

Art Books: The Spring Crop

To begin at the top, the most welcome art book I've seen this spring is the beautifully photographed *Lipchitz* by A. M. Hammacher (Abrams; $15.) Since World War II, color processes have been improving, sometimes spectacularly. At the same time there has been an amazing growth in the art book market. Put those two things together and you get – and we got – an emphasis on color that has as one unfortunate side effect the neglect of sculpture as a subject for the luxury book trade. Quite recently amends have been made. The New York Graphic Society has started a new series of sculpture books which presumably will come all the way up. For spectacularly good black and white photography of sculpture, however, Abrams pioneered in the postwar period and in Hammacher's *Lipchitz* has reached a new peak.

The book includes 100 pictures of the work, mostly sculpture, a few drawings and even some paintings. In addition there are 61 pictures of "documentation," photos of the artist at work, in childhood, youth and so on. The sources naturally, are varied, but the main achievement is that of three brilliant art photographers: Hans Sibbelee, Marc Vaux and the sculptor's New York photographer, Adolph Studly. Especially in Studly's pictures of the sculpture there is such sensitivity to the essence of the work, to light and texture, to weight, to angle of view, that art photography becomes a kind of interpretive art, somewhat like that of pianists and violinists.

The photographs take us all the way through the more than half a century of dedicated work and are so selected as to make possible the pursuit of certain recurrent themes in Lipchitz. The text by Dr. Hammacher, who is director of the Kröller-Müller in Amsterdam, has the virtues of good reporting added to those of deep appreciation. There is an extremely valuable section of statements by Lipchitz; these add up to one of the most penetrating understandings of the calling of the artist ever to appear in print.

Time was when the hypocrite pursued his private venal ends under cover of noble public goals, lust and avarice masquerading, for example, as spiritual consolation and the dedicated fructifying of the economy. We have changed all that; today, thanks in part to the income tax laws but also to the pressures of social acceptability, the public benefactor often justifies his benefactions by a cover motive of personal gain. Anyone who gives a picture to a museum can easily justify his philanthropy to his non-philanthropic peers by demonstrating how much he actually makes from his generosity, not only in public relations but in hard cash. It's the same case with a new art book, a fascinating, valuable, instructive and morally repulsive volume called *Prize Winning Oil Paintings and WHY They Won the Prize* by Margaret Harold with comments by Gus Baker (Allied Publications; $6.95).

The title tells the corrupting story the publishers wish you to hear: buy the book and win a prize. Or, as the firm says rather poetically, "a person who has been touched with the burning fire of creating a painting wants nothing more than to have it win a prize."

The hell of it is, this is a good book. What it really is, is a survey, with color plates, of the top winners of 48 important regional exhibitions in America in 1959. Each prize winner is reproduced in color, with statements by the artist and from the jury and "critic's comments," presumably by Mr. Baker, a point that is not made clear. Mr. Baker, if indeed it is he, does a solid, workmanlike job with his comments. Each picture is systematically explored, with no philosophic excursions, and the text – with the pictures – could conceivably be very useful to anyone trying to educate himself in contemporary American painting.

The real importance of the book, however, is its revelation of what is going on in American painting outside New York. In the thirties the popular view was that not much was going on outside the Middle West; today it is taken for granted that really nothing worth while goes on very far from 10th street or its summer camp – and I mean camp – at East Hampton. If you can get past the nauseating title, this book has news for you. In the last decade-and-a-half a whole new art apparatus has been built up. It is truly nationwide and it is centered in the art de-

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Jacques Barzun's *essay is drawn from his introduction to* The Delights of Detection, *an anthology to be published by Criterion Books in May.* William Gibson *is best-known as the author of* Two for the Seesaw. Donald Cook *is writing a book about juvenile delinquency in the United States.* Van R. Halsey, Jr., *teaches at Amherst.* Richmond Lattimore, *the well-known poet and scholar, is spending the season at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens.* Joel Rosenbloom *is a young Washington attorney.* Asher Brynes *was formerly Chief of the Research Development Staff, Office of International Trade Fairs in the United States Department of Commerce.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

partments of universities, especially state universities. The book is not a survey of those art departments, but it is – without saying so – largely a survey of the results of those art departments. The results are impressive. There is, on the basis of these prize-winners, an enormous amount of very competent painting being done in America. The direction is by no means the same as New York, although a great deal of the national product shows awareness of New York. Anyway, this stuff deserves to be known; it is being ignored in the national art press. This venally conceived, or at least promoted, book does the job.

Oh, yes, the book won't help you in the least to win a prize, any more than books on married love will do you much good there.

From the strictly New York view comes *Art and Culture* (Beacon, $6), a collection of the criticism of Clement Greenberg since the late thirties. Like all periodical pieces, these suffer somewhat from coming together, but the book is a good record of the thought of one of the more literate people now writing about art. The range is wide, the mind is honest, the language is English, which is more than can be said for most art writing. Of special interest is the account of the genesis of abstract expressionism.

A small, fine German book of abstract photographs, *Abstrakte Bilder der Natur* (Bruckmann, Munich; $4.25) develops further the thesis that abstract photography has made abstract painting obsolete. Four German cameramen have trained their lenses on ice formations, industrial slag, beaten up walls, hunks of wood and such, and come up with a collection of images that can match the best of abstract expressionism here or in Europe. The size and the all around precision make the pictures lovely to look at with no reference at all to any thesis. Essentially the book is another essay in how to look.

Frank Getlein

TELEVISION

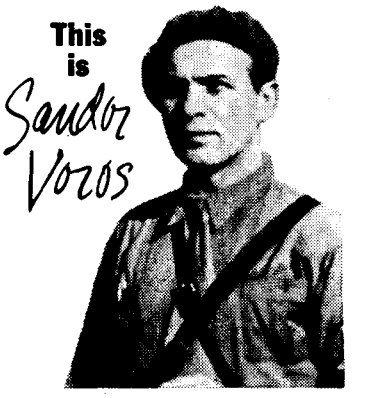
The Troubles of the News Services

It boils down to this, doesn't it? If you are selling soups or deodorants, if you want everyone to drink your soup or become addicted to your deodorant, you look for 100 percent acceptability. If you are using television as your medium of salesmanship, it is natural enough that you should try to keep the product from being associated with any controversy that would alienate a significant proportion of the potentially universal audience. If you are a television executive, out to sell the salesmen as it were, you will be less than enthusiastic about pushing personalities or programs that are likely to distress sponsors. And here is where the trouble is.

It is not that the giants of the television industry object to the public's being well informed or that they remain unsold on the value of discussion in a democracy. At a Westchester cocktail party or over the luncheon table at Al Schacht's they are as liberal-minded and democratically daring as the next fellow. But back in the office, they have their problems.

How would you like to be told that you were supposed to please everyone and at the same time be pressured to promote frank, forthright (and controversy-provoking) discussion and news coverage?

The temptation, in view of this ever-present problem in the industry, is to play down news and information and play up the idea that television is primarily a medium of entertainment – a kind of home movies industry, with public information having a decidedly secondary place, like the newsreels that provide a breather between two feature pictures at the movies. The men of television know that when it comes to pleasing most of the people most of the time, which, as Willy Loman told us, is what you want to do



Six weeks after this picture was taken in Madrid, he was alone on a Spanish mountainside getting ready to die. Just a few kilometers away, the Franco troops were beginning their final advance. But miraculously he escaped to tell this story...

His life has been one of the most incredible political adventure stories of our time. He has fought for human freedom in the wars and revolutions of half a century. *American Commissar* is his story ...an exciting personal history filled with explosive revelations of Communist intrigue, and unforgettable scenes of heroism and terror, humor and despair, sacrifice and inspiration.

Bruce Catton: "Sandor Voros has written a very fine book. It has moments of hilarity and moments that are horrifying. It is always profoundly enlightening."

Granville Hicks: "God knows he is a writer. I had come to feel that nobody was ever going to be able to say in print what party life in the U. S. was like, but Voros has done it. I think it is tremendously important that this book be published."

Joseph Freeman: "At once an adventure story, an exciting and significant personal story, and a great white light on our time."

Richard Rovere: "Thoroughly engrossing."

James Wechsler: "Warm, lively, human."

American Commissar

By SANDOR VOROS

$4.95, now at your bookstore

CHILTON BOOKS

A DIVISION OF CHILTON COMPANY

PHILADELPHIA 39, PA.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EUROPE

A low-cost unregimented tour with the fun of personal discovery. A unique route—up to 70 days & 24 countries on & off the beaten path. Russia, N. Africa optional. Unless the conventional type tour is a must for you, write

EUROPE SUMMER TOURS
255 Sequoia, Box N Pasadena, California

WRITERS! REQUEST FREE sample Pink Sheets listing markets USA. Literary Agent Mead, 915 Broadway, New York.

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $10.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order Money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.

Aardvark Press
AND GRIEVE, LESBIA
POEMS by
MAURICE KENNY 50c

LIVE IN A STIMULATING COMMUNITY! Modern Community Developers offers homes in well planned, intelligently integrated communities in Philadelphia area; Princeton, N.J.; Waterbury and Stamford, Conn.; Wilmington, Del. Co-op apartments available in Riverdale, Brooklyn and Bronx, N.Y.C. Write M.C.D., 84 Nassau, Princeton, N.J., or phone Stuart Wallace, Princeton – WAlnut 4-0701.

EVEN PAPERBACKS ARE CHEAPER in Scotland. Send 30 cents to THE PAPERBACK BOOKSHOP, GEORGE SQUARE, EDINBURGH 8, for catalogue.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING" Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder. Fascinating, educational. Details free. Sleep-Learning Research Association
Box 24-NR Olympia, Washington

KEEP IN TOUCH
with today's college thought. $2.00 per year.
THE NASSAU LITERARY MAGAZINE
Whig Hall Princeton, N.J.

FREETHINKERS! ATHEISTS! AGNOSTICS! THE SECULARIST
The leading, dynamic monthly magazine for you. Send $1 for 6 mos. trial (or $2 for yr.) to:
American Secularist Assoc.
Box 91-NR, Newark 1, N.J.

AFRIQUE *action*
The liberal voice of emerging Africa.
Edited in Tunis, in French. Send 25c for your copy.
HOWARD PUBLICATIONS
Room 503, 1475 Broadway, New York 36

when you have a product to push, there is no business like show business.

But there are always people around to insist that this show-biz concept of television is not enough. These people, often very vocal and influential, keep insisting that the networks simply can not escape their responsibility as a source of public information and enlightenment; the invention of the electronic tube offered a whole new way for the American people to carry on their democratic dialogue and it is part of the networks' obligation to see that they do. This responsibility, they argue, television inherited not from its theatrical antecedents but from its relationship as a medium of communication to the press and the university.

But how can television be *The New York Times*, Harvard University and the Outdoor Advertising Company all at the same time? That is what causes the ulcers. Suppose that James Reston's columns were to appear in *The Times* by courtesy of one of that newspaper's advertisers and that the public recognized some identification between the two, advertiser and columnist, so that when Reston said something that got a *Times* reader mad the reader could write to, say, the Lifebuoy soap people and threaten to switch to Sweetheart? Suppose that Morton White's philosophy lectures at Harvard were dependent on General Motors' generosity and, moreover, suppose that Prof. White's lectures were even expected to help along the sale of GM cars? Then, *The Times* and Harvard would have problems they never had before, and Messers. White and Reston might have a few ulcers of their own. For they would be sharing the problem the network giants have had since TV began.

It is understandable, then, if the networks have been tempted to treat their news departments as step-children. The latest charge comes from John F. Day, until last February vice-president of CBS News. Mr. Day is a former newspaperman and Nieman Fellow, who labored in the Madison Avenue vineyards for a number of years.

In a recent talk over the New York FM station WBAI, Day said that television as an information medium is being seriously stunted by neglect and indifference. For instance, the present standard TV camera equipment is too bulky to be useful for on-the-spot reporting. Miniature-size equipment is necessary for timely reporting, but though it is available, has not been purchased. The reason, claims Mr. Day, is that only the news departments have need of it and "apparently news is not worth spending that much money on."

If you have the idea that advertisers and sponsors put bold pressure on the networks to control news broadcasts, forget it. There is nothing so crass as that. After all, a free press and a free air are certified American Values. Any outright pressure would be stoutly resisted. What pressure there is, says Mr. Day, is much more subtle and much more effective. It comes from sponsor complaints about news-in-depth programs – they are too concentrated on one subject, there is not enough human interest in them, the subject matter is too heavy for the average listener, etc., etc. These complaints have consequences. Moreover, the sponsor can affect what is seen on the air by declining to underwrite the news specials that would put the news departments in the running with the top shows.

What about popular pressures? Mr. Day says that the number of letters the networks receive, whether of complaint or commendation, is comparatively small, but the few letters received are taken with the utmost seriousness and can cause near panic in the executive suites. Many of these letters of course are written by special-interest groups that charge the networks with bias or partiality and thereby discourage enthusiasm for news shows. If more people wrote letters, the complaints of the special-interest few would probably have less effect.

The possibilities of television journalism, Mr. Day believes, have been hardly sounded. With appropriate equipment; with a staff of TV newsmen trained to do the special job this medium can do better than any other; with the possibilities of bringing history to the home screen (not just men and women making statements about the action they have been involved in); and with a news-hungry public, the challenge to the news divisions of the networks is breathtaking. "The foremost reason that broadcasting has not real-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ized its potential as an information medium," Days says, "is the drive of station and network owners to make money." He has no argument with the profit motive; but he is critical of the drive "to squeeze out the very last penny of profit."

What is needed in the industry, it should go without saying but I'll say it, is some notion of responsibility that transcends the merely commercial, some genuine professional sense. Where will it come from? The networks might gradually get it once they become convinced that television, though it grew up that way, is not just show business, but show business *plus*. The *plus* would have more in common with the traditions of the press and the university than with the stage, the screen, or the big top. If and when that idea really catches on and takes over the minds of the television owners, we can look forward to a new breakthrough in journalism.

John Cogley

Correspondence

Aid to Parochial Schools

Sirs:

I read Thomas J. O'Toole's article, "School Aid – A Catholic View" (April 10) with much interest. Its tone was so reasonable. So, seemingly, were its conclusions. But I think it's always helpful to look at a country where the State supports all schools, private and public. Such a state is The Netherlands.

After the Dutch agreed to subsidize all schools equally, those under Roman Catholic auspices took full advantage, with the result that Protestants and others did the same thing. In time the pupils have shifted so much that today 30 percent of the municipalities have no public elementary school. In 1958, barely a third of the secondary schools and pupils were part of the public systems. There is virtually no communication among schools of the same town, for teachers and parents also are organized according to creed or point of view.

Another consequence of tax-supported private schools annoys many Dutch subjects: nuns and brothers earn standard salaries, which usually they must surrender to ecclesiastical authorities (who thus enjoy a subsidy).

Let those who desire this luxury pay for it.

W. H. von Dreele
New York, N. Y.

Sirs:

Throughout all of the controversy over Federal aid to private schools, one very basic question presents itself: Why does the Catholic Church have parochial schools? Certainly, the public school system provides schools of at least equal academic caliber for the use of all members of our society. The difference between public and parochial schools arises to the greatest degree in the fact that the public school is secular, and (with the exception of isolated incidents) has no religious teaching, while the parochial school, by definition, provides an education with a stress on the history, precepts, and background of the religion supporting the denominational school. These facts provide us with the main reason that the Catholic Church encourages the establishment of Catholic parochial schools: namely, to encourage its students to become devout Catholics.

If a child's parents wish that child raised to be a devout Catholic, it is their right to see that this is done. But I do protest most strongly when these same parents want to use my tax dollars to further a religion that I do not advocate or believe in.

Emanuel Goldman
New York, N. Y.

Presidential Press Conferences

Sirs:

I hope that articles such as Cogley's (April 10) on Kennedy's conferences will not affect their continuance.

Formerly, any sentence or part of one could be reported out of context or with a personal emphasis to make a personal (editorial) point. Since we can now hear so much of the Administration's thinking directly for ourselves we are no longer as dependent on a commentator's views and interpretation. By the same token we have better information on issues and can the better appreciate and understand a reporter's specialized knowedge.

Cora Baird
New York, N.Y.

Any Book

Out-of-print books located—no matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! (Title alone is sufficient.) All authors, subjects. Fiction, nonfiction. No obligation.

Books-On-File
Dept. NEW Union City, N.J.

L'EXPRESS

The leading liberal newspaper in France today.
Send 25c for your sample copy.
Howard Publications
Room 503
1475 Broadway
New York 36, N.Y.

JOBS ABROAD

For teachers, writers, librarians, translators, stenographers and administrators. Top salaries paid by American and foreign companies, governmental and international organizations. How, when and where to apply, $2.00. Money-back guarantee. Included free, "Student Opportunities Abroad." M. Dorf, 186 Covington Lane, Woodbury, N. J.

JAPANESE HANDMADE PAPER
The world's finest handmade papers
at
Less than half of American retail prices.
For
Painting, drawing, screens, albums, mats, distinctive stationery, gift-wrapping, etc.
Comprehensive catalogue with actual samples, $1
IIS, Ltd., CPO Box 1539, Tokyo, Japan

VERMONT MAPLE SYRUP

Grade A Gallon $6.45 ½ gal. $3.50
PLUS POSTAGE
N. Pliny Smith, Cabot, Vermont

"MAKE YOUR WILL!"
Two Will Forms and Book on Wills.
$1.00 Complete.
National Forms, Box 48313NR,
Los Angeles 48, Calif.

HAVE YOU OUTGROWN GODS, SAVIORS AND SUPERNATURALISM?
Is all your concern for people? Then welcome to the ranks of HUMANISTS! We cordally invite you to join the AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION; we have local chapters, publications. Send $1 for three month special trial membership to:
American Humanist Association, Dept. NR
Yellow Springs, Ohio

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion).....12c
Per word 6 times in one contract year.....11c
Per word 13 times in one contract year.....10c
Per word 26 times in one contract year..... 9c
Per word 48 times in one contract year..... 8c

NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth St. N.W., Wash. 6, D.C.

Printed by National Publishing Co., 301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JUN 6 - 51

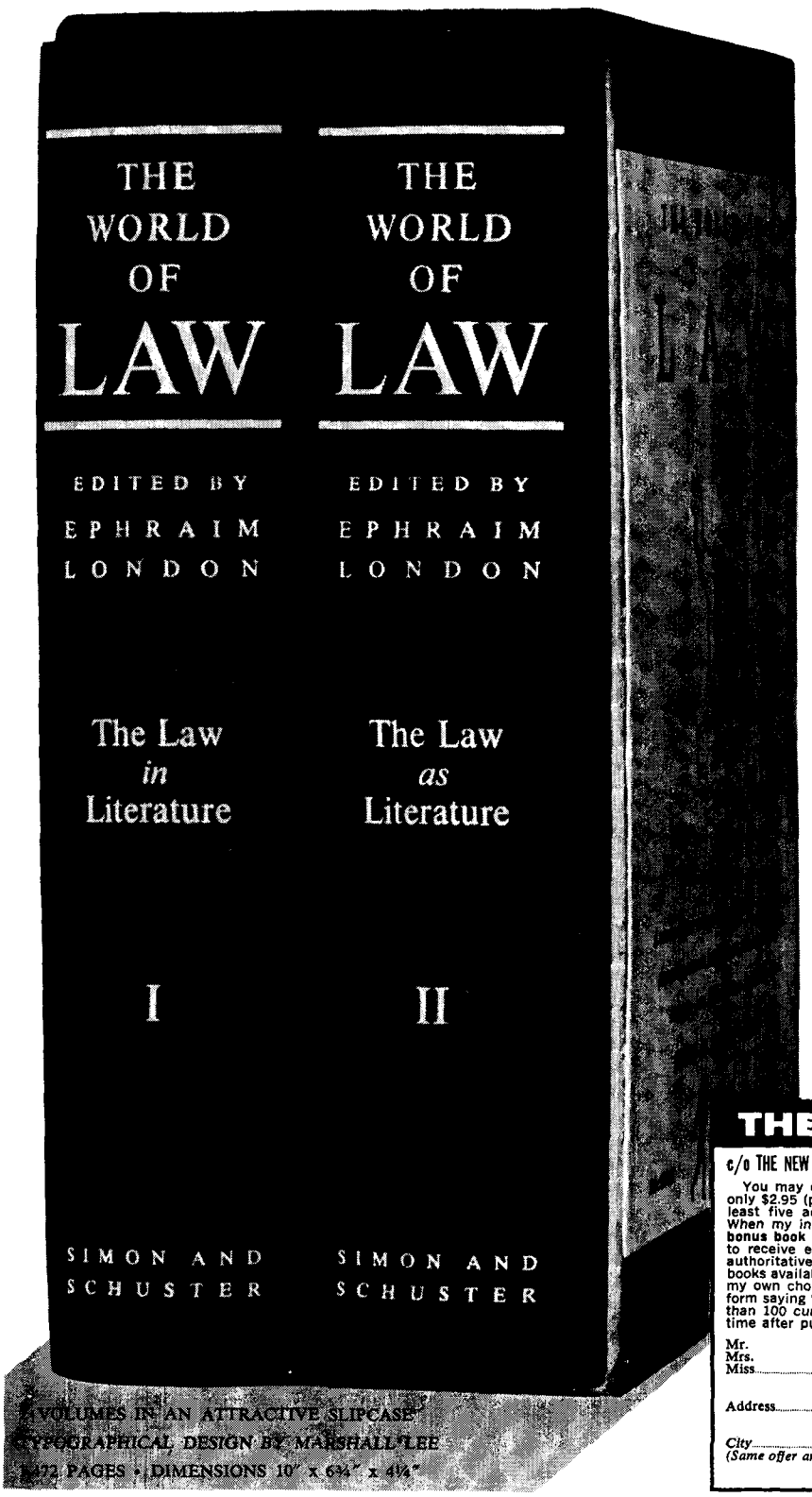
This lavish and exciting home library of the great writings of the law demonstrates that the law is above no one's head—that it is the stuff of life and literature.

THE WORLD OF LAW presents a panorama of the law through history. Here are those who practice the law, and those who preach it; those who make it, those who break it; those who write it and those who write about it. Here are essays, opinions, stories, plays, transcripts of testimony, and records of famous trials—all magnificently displaying the drama and excitement of the law.

Ephraim London, the editor, is responsible for the scope and excellence of THE WORLD OF LAW. One of America's most eminent constitutional lawyers, in recent years he has appeared in a succession of precedent-making cases, including the Dachau trial, the **Miracle** case, and the **Lady Chatterley's Lover** movie case.

What a wealth of entertainment and stimulation awaits the reader of these two superb volumes: Rabelais' rowdy legal humor . . . Robert Jackson's gripping summation, at Nuremberg, of humanity's case against the Nazis . . . the complete text of Terrence Rattigan's international hit play **The Winslow Boy** . . . actual transcripts from the trials of Oscar Wilde, Joan of Arc, and Emile Zola . . . great tales from Cervantes, Balzac, Chekhov, Dickens, and Faulkner . . . memorable opinions eloquently expressed by Brandeis, Learned Hand, Felix Frankfurter, William O. Douglas, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., and other titans of the law . . . Albert Camus' extensive and devastating indictment of capital punishment, **Reflections on the Guillotine.** Every mood and aspect of the law is represented in the two comprehensive volumes that comprise THE WORLD OF LAW.

Among Others Represented Clarence Darrow • W. H. Auden • Daniel Webster • Gandhi • Henry Miller • Francis Bacon • Herman Melville • Luigi Pirandello • Henry James Mark Twain • Frank O'Connor • Agatha Christie • Sholom Aleichem • Damon Runyon • Sheridan Le Fanu • Robert Benchley • H. L. Mencken • Guy de Maupassant • Herman Wouk Jonathan Swift • George Bernard Shaw • Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. • Lewis Carroll • O'Henry • Samuel Johnson • W. Somerset Maugham • Michel de Montaigne • *and many more*



2 VOLUMES IN AN ATTRACTIVE SLIPCASE
TYPOGRAPHICAL DESIGN BY MARSHALL LEE
1472 PAGES • DIMENSIONS 10" x 6¾" x 4⅛"

RETAIL $17.50 **YOURS FOR**

$2.95

The World of Law and the outstanding books listed below are all recent selections of the Book Find Club. You will recognize them as works of current interest and lasting value—solid, readable books ranging from social science to the fine arts.

Membership in the Book Find Club makes it possible for you to shop for the books you want in the comfort of your own home—enabling you to build your library conveniently and inexpensively. As a member you will regularly enjoy savings of 40% on the books you choose. Furthermore, you need choose **only** those selections you want from the more than 100 books and records that will be made available to members in the coming year.

BONUS BOOKS. When your initial commitment has been fulfilled, you will be entitled to a free bonus book **of your own choosing** after every third selection that you take.

Why not take advantage of this extraordinary introductory offer? And receive **The World of Law** for only **$2.95.**

Recent Book Find Club Selections

The Politics of Upheaval, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.95. Member's price $4.95.

The Crisis of the Old Order, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.95. Member's price $4.50.

The Coming of the New Deal, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.95. Member's price $4.75.

The Labyrinth, Saul Steinberg. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

The Fate of Man, edited by Crane Brinton. Including Plato, Sophocles, Aquinas, Spencer, Nietzsche, Engels, Freud, Toynbee, Kant, Whitehead, Kluckhohn, Shapley, Rosenberg, Huxley, and others. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, James Agee and Walker Evans. Retail $6.50. Member's price $4.95.

Identity and Anxiety: Survival of the Person in Mass Society. A massive compendium of studies by Margaret Mead, C. Wright Mills, Harold Rosenberg, I. A. Richards, Geoffrey Gorer, Irving Howe, Karl Jaspers, and many more. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.75.

The Joy of Music, Leonard Bernstein. Retail $5.95. Member's price $3.95.

The Affluent Society, John Kenneth Galbraith. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.50.

The Greek Myths, Robert Graves. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.75.

Images of Man: The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking, edited by C. Wright Mills. Penetrating studies of man by Lippmann, Marx, Engels, Veblen, Weber, Spencer, and many others. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

The Odyssey: A Modern Sequel, Nikos Kazantzakis. Retail $10.00. Member's Price $5.95.

America as a Civilization, Max Lerner. Retail $10.00. Member's price $4.95.

A History of Sexual Customs, Dr. Richard Lewinsohn. Retail $5.95. Member's price $4.50.

A History of Western Morals, Crane Brinton. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.50.

J. B., Archibald MacLeish *and* **Brave New World Revisited,** Aldous Huxley. A dual selection. Retail $6.50. Member's price $4.50.

THE BOOK FIND CLUB

c/o THE NEW REPUBLIC, 1244 19th St. N. W., Wash 6, D. C.

You may enroll me as a member and send me THE WORLD OF LAW for only $2.95 (plus a slight charge for postage and handling). I agree to buy at least five additional selections—or alternates—in the next twelve months. When my initial commitment has been fulfilled, I will be entitled to a free bonus book of my own choosing after every third selection that I take. I am to receive each month without charge the **Book Find News** containing an authoritative review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of all other books available to me at special member's prices. This will enable me to make my own choice: if I do not want the selection announced I can return your form saying "send me nothing" or use it to order another book from the more than 100 current choice titles offered. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the five additional selections or alternates.

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss .....

Please print full name

Address .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....

(Same offer and prices apply in Canada. Address: 105 Bond St., Toronto 2, Ontario)

B61-49

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED